

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute(A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could be reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could be reasonably expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.



U.S. Department of Justice

**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

*Washington, D.C. 20535*

December 31, 2009

FOIPA Request No.: 1141424- 000  
Subject: SOLZHENITSYN, ALEXANDR

The records that you have requested were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act for another requester.

Enclosed are 95 pages of documents pertaining to your request and a copy of the explanation of exemptions.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), U.S. Department of Justice, 1425 New York Ave., NW, Suite 11050, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001. Your appeal must be received by OIP within sixty (60) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. The envelope and the letter should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so that it may be identified easily.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", followed by a stylized flourish.

David M. Hardy  
Section Chief,  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

SOIZHENITSYN, ALEXANDER, ISSAJEVICH

9/14/76 R027  
MCRP

MCRP  
Solzhenitsyn, Alexander  
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Alexander ISSAJEVICH

ISSAJEVICH

Solzhenitsyn, Alexander

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# Azhnitsyn Again Defies Soviet Writers' Union

New Letter, Available in West  
Complains About Curb

By PETER GROSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 12. — The Soviet novelist Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn is reported to have defied again Communist bureaucrats who administer the party's controls over literature.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who criticized literary censorship last May, is now reported to have presented new complaints to the Union of Writers, the professional society that channels party guidance to literary figures.

Western diplomatic sources report that one result of his new protest, which apparently was submitted in December, came last week when the literary journal *Novy Mir* appeared without the promised first installment of a long awaited Solzhenitsyn novel, "The Cancer Ward."

Manuscripts of this novel are believed to be already circulating in Western Europe, but they are said to have been held up from publication in the hope that the Russians would publish it officially.

Evidence that has now come to light indicates that the confrontation between Mr. Solzhenitsyn and the literary authorities is as tense as ever since the 48-year-old novelist circulated a long letter to the writers' union calling for an end of censorship.

The letter, published in The New York Times on June 5, 1967, and in other Western newspapers, called for a formal discussion of the censorship issue at a congress of the writers union.

According to information received in Western Europe, union officials met with Mr. Solzhenitsyn on Sept. 22, denounced him for aiding "the enemies of the Soviet Union" and compared him with Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter, who defected to the West a year ago.

Two months later, on Nov. 25, Mr. Solzhenitsyn received a terse letter from the writers' union. A paraphrased version available in Western Europe reads as follows:

"You had an opportunity to learn from this discussion the attitude of the community of

Soviet writers toward you and your literary activities. At that time [September, 1967], no resolution was adopted. It was believed that you would think this discussion through and make your decision accordingly. The secretariat would like to know what decision you have come to."

This letter was signed by a secretary of the union, Konstantin V. Voronkov.

## Questions Are Posed

The text of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's terse reply has reached the West.

"I am unable to understand your letter of Nov. 24, 1967," the author began. Then followed specific points of criticism in the form of questions:

Does the writer's union intend to protect Mr. Solzhenitsyn from being slandered. What is the union doing to nullify an illegal ban on scholarly use of his published works; or even mention of his name in articles of literary criticism?

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said a group of students at the university of Perm, in the Urals, had been punished for trying to include a discussion of his works in an academic review.

He asked whether the union wished to prevent an unauthorized version of his novel "The Cancer Ward" from being published abroad by letting it appear in the Soviet Union.

Other questions posed by the writer were:

Will the union urge that the Soviet Union join the International Copyright Convention so that Soviet authors are protected? Is it true that an edition of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's works that was being distributed at the time he presented his first criticism had been destroyed?

Has the union accepted or rejected a proposal by the distinguished writer Konstantin Simonov to edit a volume of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's stories?

In support of one of his points, Mr. Solzhenitsyn mentioned a lecture given to a closed meeting of writers in Leningrad by Mikhail V. Zimyanin, editor of the Communist party paper *Pravda*.

His Novel 'Cancer Ward' Is  
Dropped From Magazine



Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn

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62 FEB 28 1968

# Solzhenitsyn's Silenced Book To Be Published Here Today

By HENRY RAYMONT

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn's longest novel, "The First Circle" which has been suppressed in the Soviet Union since its completion four years ago, will be published here today by Harper & Row.

The 580-page book reached the West through undisclosed channels. It will appear simultaneously in England, France, Italy and Germany.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn, a 50-year-old mathematician who rose to literary fame with the publication in 1962 of the prison camp novel, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," has become embroiled with Moscow's literary officials over his outspoken demands for the abolition of internal censorship of literary and artistic works.

Though "One Day" was published after the personal intervention of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev as part of reaction against Stalinist terror, only three short stories by Mr. Solzhenitsyn have been allowed to appear in the Soviet Union since.

## Warned by Writers' Union

Last year Konstantin Fedin, the 75-year-old first secretary of the Union of Soviet Writers, warned Mr. Solzhenitsyn that he would have to "protest against the dirty way your name is being made use of in the West" before any further works of his were printed.

In his blunt, open letter of May, 1967, demanding that the union defend the freedom of writers instead of acting as an administrative organization for the government, the frail, sad-eyed author charged that some of his manuscripts, including "The First Circle," had been seized by the Soviet security police. Against the background of the recent prison sentences against Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel for allowing their satirical novels to be published in the West, Mr. Solzhenitsyn declared then that he had not given any authorization for the publication of his works abroad.

"The First Circle" is a vivid, 250,000-word account of the plight of scholars and technicians convicted for anti-party activities during the Stalin regime. The setting is a physics research laboratory, and the story is told by the secret police outside

Moscow. In such a facility Mr. Solzhenitsyn served part of his 10-year sentence for having written a disrespectful letter about Stalin.

The book, which covers a five-day period beginning Christmas Eve, 1949, was completed in 1964. Mr. Solzhenitsyn had worked on it for nine years. He began writing the novel in 1955, at a time when the foremost preoccupation of Soviet liberals was to make reparations for the tragic injustices of the Stalin era.

Like another famous prison camp account, Eugenia Ginzburg's "Journey into the Whirlwind," published last year by Harcourt, Brace & World, the novel refers to the prodigious memory prisoners developed during their terms. This enabled them to recite lengthy passages of Russian classics.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's reliance on memory in his writings was recently mentioned in an article in The Times of London by Lord Bethell, co-translator of the author's other major novel, "Cancer Ward," for the English publisher Bodley Head.

"It was in the camps that he first began to write, only not with pen and paper — that was impossible and illegal," Lord Bethell said. "He composed short stories in his head, edited them mentally and memorized them down to the last word. Other prisoners learnt them from him and told them to their friends to entertain them. An oral tradition began."

## Scholars' Views Differ

Cass Canfield Sr., who edited "The First Circle" for Harper & Row, said yesterday that the decision to print the book came after Western publishers had given up hope that the Soviet authorities would allow the manuscript to be published in the Soviet Union and approve its publication abroad. Mr. Canfield avoided any suggestion that publication had been authorized by Mr. Solzhenitsyn.

The announcement last June that Harper & Row would publish "The First Circle," and that Farrar, Straus & Giroux planned an American edition of the Bodley Head manuscript, of "Cancer Ward," aroused controversy among scholars of Russian literature here.

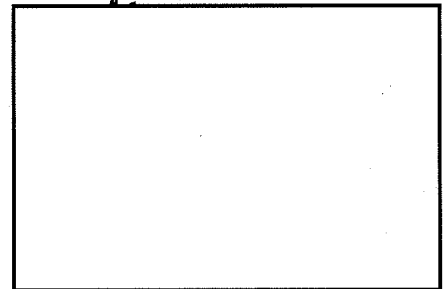
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# Books of The Times

## The Bars Are Never Invisible

BY THOMAS TASK

**THE FIRST CIRCLE** By Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. Translated from the Russian by Thomas P. Whitney. 380 pages. Harper. \$10.

**F**OR his second novel to appear in English, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has returned to that unique institution that Soviet Russia has bequeathed to 20th-century civilization: the penal slave labor camp. But the difference between his current book and "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" is profound. In scale alone it is the difference between Tolstoy's "Death of Ilyitch" and "War and Peace."

In the earlier book, Mr. Solzhenitsyn condemned a system; in this one he condemns a society. The reader of "One Day" almost felt that matters could be better if conditions were not so harsh, if the code were more humane. In "The First Circle" he leaves no doubt that it is the order of society that breeds the evil he is describing.

### They Are All Equal

It does not matter one whit whether the overseer is decent and well-intentioned like Roitman or petty and insecure like Shikin or high up in the Soviet hierarchy like Abakumov or a lowly informer like Siromkha, the system grinds them all down.

Those who confess and collaborate with their accusers, those who hold out because they have nothing to confess, the innocent and the guilty are all equal in this chain-mail jurisprudence. Men are imprisoned for "intent" to betray or "failure" to inform. The aim of such a system is not justice but order.

The time of the novel is December, 1949 and some will say that all this is due to one man, Stalin. But a system that allows no dissent, no opening for redress or appeal, that allows the scum of humanity to come to the top, that depends for justice on the whim and stability of one man is a monstrous horror to contemplate. Solzhenitsyn, though his contempt for Stalin cannot be measured, suggests himself that it is the structure of society that is rotten, not one strand in it.

One of the most sympathetic characters in the book is a peasant whose allegiance is neither to governments nor leaders but to his own kin and to the land. And the central character, Gleb Nerzhin, asking himself in the depths of his despair what he can do, answers: "One must try to temper, to cut, to polish one's soul as to become a human being."

### A Place of Humiliation

"The First Circle," not yet published in Russia and not likely to be very quickly, keeps a middle voice throughout. It is full of the most delicate nuance and shading, yet it is of a contrapuntal richness, it is a book of great sadness with deep veins of humor. In one chapter, in a mock trial, Prince Igor of Borodin's opera is dealt Soviet justice after returning from the camp of the Polovtsians. Another describes the

visit of a famous American lady to a Potemkin village prison.

What helps make the book so moving and effective is that the camp he describes is not one that abuses the prisoners physically or one in which conditions are on the surface intolerable. It is a special camp for men of intellect, scientists, mathematicians, technicians of great skill. And they are brought together in a suburb of Moscow, along with other prisoners and civilians to work at specified projects. A man who makes a special contribution might even be freed.

Yet it is a prison still because the men are humiliated psychologically. In dozens of ways they are subjected to the petty tyranny of every sadist-minded supervisor and they know in their hearts that they never will be freed.

The abuses may seem small but they are abrasive. Letters are held back or allowed to be read only, no retained; no intimate word is allowed to come from the outside. At most one visit a year of thirty minutes' duration is allowed. At the meeting, holding hands or kissing is not permitted.

In a heart-searing chapter in as great a piece of writing as this reviewer has come across, Nerzhin and his wife sit apart in the presence of a guard and try to convey their thoughts and feelings by talking commonplaces. Solzhenitsyn's iron control over this chapter would be enough to indicate the high level of his talent.

### Security-Ridden Bosses

The system itself battles against success. Impossible target dates are set because each man wants to please his superior. The administrators are so security-ridden that the smooth operation of every project is halted by an insane but unrelenting search for saboteurs and enemies of the state and fatherland. In this maelstrom of incompetence, mistrust and petty cruelty, each man tries to mark off his corner of peace.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's characterizations are peerless: a philologist who thinks himself a communist still and justifies his incarceration, but who thinks all the others are guilty; a mathematician of the highest achievement who denounced Stalin and had become a special ward of the secret police; a physicist, specializing in optics, who refuses to work on a secret camera because he will not work on anything that puts more people into jail. There are assorted guards, informers, secret police, civilian workers—all caught up in the fate of the special camp.

In its humanity and knowledge of human suffering, "The First Circle" does not admit of criticism. Anything one could say would be paltry. It is the fate of Russian novels to be political. And "The First Circle" is overwhelmingly so. But it is also a compassionate commentary on the human condition. It is at once classic and contemporary. Reading it we know that it has been with us for years, just as we know that future generations will read it with wonder and with awe.

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54 SEP 24 1968

# Anti-Stalinist Author Assailed

By Anatole Shub  
Washington Post Foreign Service  
MOSCOW, June 26—The Russian writer who first described life in Stalin's concentration camp came under heavy official fire today as the Soviet Communist Party took another step backward from de-Stalinization. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, 50, generally considered one of the Soviet Union's most talented living novelists, was

the principal target of a long attack in the Writers Union organ Literaturnaya Gazeta. The paper described the author of "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" as a willing tool of anti-Soviet propaganda and his newest works—unpublished here but about to be published in the West—as "malicious libels" of the Soviet system. Also attacked were Benjamin Kaverin, a liberal novelist

who protested against last January's "literary underground" trial here.

Moscow observers viewed the attack on Solzhenitsyn as the gravest offensive move by political hardliners since the 1966 trial of writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel, who are now serving time in a forced labor camp.

Arkady Vassilyev, one of the public accusers at the trial, See SOVIET A18, Col. 1

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## France Acts to Hold Line on

By Eric Wentworth  
Washington Post Foreign Service

SOVIET, From A1

of Sinyavsky and Daniel, was recently named Communist Party Secretary of the Writers Union, reportedly in preparation for heightening the "vigilance" campaign raging all year.

The attack on Solzhenitsyn

year should not rise more dies based on wages to com- ances, certain textiles and  
about 2 per cent. increase a number of comna- steel.

represents a major escalation of that campaign, although behind-the-scenes controversy over whether to publish his novel "The Cancer Ward" has been going on for more than a year. Publication of Solzhenitsyn's "Ivan Denisovich" in the liberal monthly Novy Mir in 1962 was considered the most important literary event in post-Stalin Russia. Former Premier Khrushchev reportedly ordered its publication over the opposition of the state security organs and the Communist Party ideological apparatus headed, the nas now, by Mikhail Suslov.

Solzhenitsyn, a wartime captain of artillery, was arrested in East Germany in February 1945 for having made derogatory remarks about Stalin, and his long years in concentration camps were the raw material for "Ivan Denisovich." He was rehabilitated in 1957. The author's talent, honesty and modest bearing won him widespread popularity throughout the Soviet Union. "Exploitation Denounced"

Literaturnaya Gazeta today dismissed Solzhenitsyn's claim and denounced "exploitation" of his name by Western propaganda in its ideological struggle against the Soviet Union. At issue here, Moscow observers believe, was Solzhenitsyn's refusal to disavow the text of his open letter to the Writers Congress, which had been published in leading London, Paris and New York newspapers. "Literaturnaya Gazeta charged Solzhenitsyn with attacking the principles which guide Soviet literature," "vic-

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ulating general norms of behavior by circulating his works privately, behaving "demagogically" at Writers Union meetings, "tendentiously" reporting such meetings in letters sent abroad, and refusing to declare openly his decision to break all relations with the provocateurs, enemies of our country." The paper alleged that "The Cancer Ward" required serious remaking in the ideological sense, that "In the First Circle" was "a malicious libel on our system," and that a play of Solzhenitsyn's, entitled "Feast of the Victors," "sacrilegiously" mocked the Soviet army and showed sympathy toward the army of Soviet defectors formed by General Vlassov under German auspices in 1943.

Today's attack also contained a hint that Solzhenitsyn may later be linked with some sort of international plot. Denying the author's charge that security police had confiscated his manuscripts, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* said that his home in Ryazan, southeast of Moscow, had not been searched. (No mention was made of the author's Moscow apartment.) The paper disclosed, however, that several typewritten Solzhenitsyn manuscripts had been seized during the search of the Moscow apartment of a certain Teush, who was not further identified.

"The course of investigation led to Teush," *Literaturnaya Gazeta* said, because "at the customs inspection of a certain foreign tourist, slanderous writings about life in the Soviet Union were discovered."

**Old-Timers Worried**

The new attack on literary protesters is generally viewed as part of the broader anxiety in Soviet senior ruling circles over the spread of anti-Stalinist and "revisionist" ideas in Eastern Europe. Soviet ideological supervisors, many of whom have served since the

late 1940s, are aware that their ideas and future careers are fundamentally incompatible with the new approaches to socialism being proclaimed in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania.

The attack on Solzhenitsyn was thus coupled in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* today with a new attack on Czech liberal writer Jan Prochazka and a eulogy of East Germany's Stalinist Walter Ulbricht on the occasion of his 75th birthday next Sunday.

The Soviet army paper *Krasnaya Zvezda*, also criticized various Czech papers today for allegedly distorting the role played by the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia in 1918.

At the same time, all media reported new factory meetings throughout Russia, celebrating Soviet-Czech friendship by vowing support to the Czech peoples militia, one of the bulwarks of the former Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia, which is now campaigning against the journalists and other intellectuals leading the Czech democratization process. In Belgrade today, Marshal Tito disclosed for the first time publicly—and rejected—the campaign of criticism of Yugoslavia being waged by hardliners here and in Warsaw, East Berlin and other conservative strongholds.



# Solzhenitsyn Reported Defiant As Union Voted to Expel Him

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Nov. 12 — Alek- greater degree for his creative work and public conduct.

solzhenitsyn was reported today to have repeated his credo, that he was "ready to die" for the truth, shortly before he was expelled last week from the writers union.

Details of the meeting, in which Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who is 51 years old, was accused of "blackening" Soviet society, became available at the same time as Literaturnaya Gazeta, the weekly of the Union of Soviet Writers, confirmed his expulsion in a brief report.

Reliable sources said Mr. Solzhenitsyn, the author of "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," "The First Circle" and "The Cancer Ward," was summoned to a meeting last Tuesday of the union local in his hometown of Ryazan. His expulsion from the local was at first denied by Soviet spokesmen.

There are said to be seven members of the writers union in Ryazan, 110 miles southeast of Moscow, and six of them, including Mr. Solzhenitsyn, were present.

After it was made clear that he was to be expelled, Mr. Solzhenitsyn was reported to have said that he stood by what he had written in a letter he sent to 11 members of the writers union in 1967 protesting literary censorship.

In that letter, published in the West, he said "No one will succeed in blocking the road to truth, and I am ready to die so that it will advance."

The sources said, according to notes taken at the Ryazan meeting, that Mr. Solzhenitsyn then added: "Yes, I am ready to die and not only to be expelled from the writers union. Vote. You are the majority. But do not forget that the history of literature will be interested in today's meeting."

The vote, presumed to have been agreed upon ahead of time, was 5 to 1, with Mr. Solzhenitsyn voting in his own behalf.

On Monday, the secretariat of the writers union of the Russian Republic confirmed the expulsion, in effect barring him from the national union as well.

Literaturnaya Gazeta, in confirming what had already been widely known in literary circles, omitted details of the proceedings in Ryazan. It said: "Participants in the meeting, in their speeches, underscored that in conditions of the sharp ideological struggle in the modern world, each Soviet writer is responsible to a

greater degree for his creative work and public conduct.

"In this connection, the participants at the meeting raised the question about the membership in the Ryazan writers' organization of A. Solzhenitsyn. The meeting unanimously noted that the conduct of A. Solzhenitsyn was antisocial in character and, in essence, was contrary to the principles and tasks formulated in the rules of the Union of Soviet Writers."

The newspaper said, "As is well known, the name and works of A. Solzhenitsyn have been actively used by hostile bourgeois propaganda in recent years for a slanderous campaign against our country."

It added that Mr. Solzhenitsyn "not only did not publicly state his attitude toward this campaign but, despite criticism from Soviet society and repeated recommendations of the Union of Soviet Writers, he has, by some of his actions and statements, in essence, furthered the inflating of anti-Soviet hullabaloo around his name."

Mr. Solzhenitsyn, according to the reliable sources, denied these charges at the meeting and said he had asked Western publishers not to print unauthorized versions of his works.

Of Mr. Solzhenitsyn's major works, only "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," a novella about life in a Stalinist labor camp, has been printed in the Soviet Union in addition to a few short stories.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn also was reported to have denied charges that he had "blackened" Soviet society by emphasizing the grimmer aspects of life in the Stalin days. He is said to have replied:

"One cannot succeed indefinitely in keeping quiet about Stalin's crimes, for they were crimes committed against millions of human beings. To pretend that they did not exist is to pervert millions of other human beings."

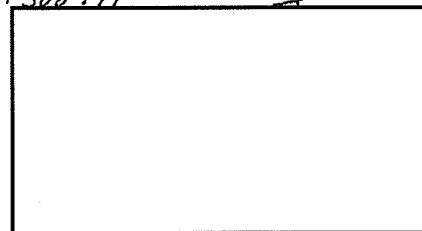
When he was asked why his works were being published abroad, he is said to have replied, "Tell me first why I am not being published here?"

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's expulsion was no surprise. He has been blacklisted since 1966 and his works have no chance of being published anyway. What was surprising was the timing. He has not been in the limelight lately, and there seemed no pressing reason to expel him.

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## 'GULAG' DELAYED BY TRANSLATION

Publication in United States  
Now Expected in June

By ERIC PACE

The United States publication date of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn's "The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956" has been postponed for about four weeks because of differences of opinion between translators as well as other factors, according to publishing executives.

Mrs. Frances Lindley, the Harper & Row editor who is overseeing preparation of the English translation, said, "It was to come out on May 15, but now we think it will be June 15. We continue to get revisions, but now we're just about ready to go."

Because of various delays, she said, "we lost our reserved time on 10 linotype machines—and if you've got reserved time and you break your schedule you've got to wait until you've got the time again."

### The Translator

The basic draft of the translation was prepared by Thomas P. Whitney, a former Moscow correspondent for The Associated Press, who has translated numerous other Russian works, including Mr. Solzhenitsyn's novel "The First Circle".

Mr. Whitney's labors have drawn special attention in the publishing field because Mr. Solzhenitsyn is understood to have been dissatisfied with some English translations of his past works.

Much is at stake since the present book, sure to be a best seller, is only the first volume of what is expected to be a three-volume study of the Soviet penal system, publishing informants reported.

The author has divided the work, which is said to be finished, into seven sections, two of which are in the first volume. The five other sections are to be published in the two subsequent volumes, but Mr. Solzhenitsyn's publishing plans for these books have not been made public.

The contract for publication of the first volume, negotiated by Harper & Row with Mr. Solzhenitsyn's agent in Zurich, provided for an outside expert to serve as a consultant. The job went to Michael Scammell, a British translator and editor, who is an expert in Soviet prison-camp slang.

In January, Harper & Row invited Mr. Scammell to come to the United States and since then there have been lively, and, time-consuming, discussions between him and Mr. Whitney, it was understood.

### Varying Opinions

"Somebody has his idea of how to translate a piece of camp slang, which the book is filled with, and somebody else has another idea how to do it, and if you had four more Russian experts you have four more opinions," a Harper & Row staffer observed.

The spelling of the name of one character in the book, a Soviet intelligence agent, has been changed from Latsis to Lacis and back to Latsis, and this has meant changing every mention of it in the typescript of the translation. The book is to be more than 700 printed pages long; the Russian edition recently put out in Paris was 606 pages.

Changes directed by Mr. Solzhenitsyn after he was expelled from the Soviet Union, and by an intermediary in Europe, have also delayed the project, it was reported. Among these changes, it was understood, were the corrections of errors in the published Russian text.

They have been sent by Harper & Row to Washington, Conn., where Mr. Whitney has been working, and where he has occasionally been joined by Mr. Scammell, who is now setaying in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Scammell is "just doing the final sort of checking," a Harper & Row staffer observed, "and his suggestions are all submitted to Whitney, and if it involves disagreement they argue it out."

The much-edited translation has an acknowledgment by Mr. Whitney that Mr. Scammell has "contributed some very useful work," an admirer of both men reported.

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*Scammell*

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# Solzhenitsyn Asks Kremlin To Abandon Communism And Split Up Soviet Union

By THEODORE SHABAD

Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the Russian dissident writer, addressed a long letter to the Soviet leaders last fall, asking them to abandon Communism as an alien, unworkable political philosophy; dismantle the Soviet Union and focus on developing Russia proper as a separate state.

The author's 15,000-word proposal of national priorities also urges a halt in the headlong rush into an urbanized, industrial society and a return to the traditional Russian rural way of life, including more settlement of the vast empty reaches of northern Russia and Siberia.

Letter Dated Sept. 5

Mr. Solzhenitsyn regards such a radical change in course over the next 10 to 30 years as the only way of instilling a new idealism in cynical youths and of averting what he views as two impending disasters: war with China and the collapse of Russian civilization, together with that of the West, in a polluted environment.

The sweeping proposals, reflecting the writer's devotion

to Russian nationalistic values and his distaste for the big noisy cities and other attributes of the modern age, are dated last Sept. 5.

After several months had passed without a reply, "or even the hint of one" from the authorities, the author states in a foreword; he decided to make his statement public. A copy of his letter to the Soviet leadership has been obtained by The New York Times.

But, Mr. Solzhenitsyn, after his expulsion from the Soviet Union on Feb. 13, decided to make a number of changes in the original letter for publication in the West. The nature of the revisions could not be immediately ascertained. The modified text is scheduled to be published in English today by The Sunday Times of London

and in Russian tomorrow by YMCA-Press, a Paris publishing house.

There was no explanation of why the author, who is now in Zurich, Switzerland, found it necessary to change the wording of a message that was

formerly in the hands of the Soviet Government. This article is based on the original original version, as translated by The New York Times.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's ambitious proposals for remaking Russia as a nation after more than half a century of Communist rule recalled another statement of similar sweep, issued in 1968 by Andrei D. Sakharov, the physicist and dissident leader, in the book "Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom."

But while Mr. Sakharov saw the salvation of the world from nuclear war, pollution, overpopulation and starvation in a "convergence" between the Soviet Union and the West, particularly the United States, Mr. Solzhenitsyn would have Russia turn away from the West and look inward for a solution of her problems.

The novelist says that "some of the practical proposals in this letter may cause surprise" and that "they are being put forward with little hope—but not with none."

He sees reason for hope, for example, in the "Khrushchev miracle" of 1955-56 when, after the death of Stalin, millions of innocent prisoners—Mr. Solzhenitsyn has put the figure as high as 12 million—were released from the vast network of labor camps described in "The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956," the author's latest book.

Cites De-Stalinization Alluding to Nikita S. Khrushchev's de-Stalinization program as giving rise to "the ragged beginnings of a humane code of law," Mr. Solzhenitsyn writes:

"This culmination of Khrushchev's activity goes far beyond the political steps he was obliged to take. In its essence, it was hostile to Communist ideology and incompatible with

it (which is why it was so hard-fistedly rejected and systematically abandoned). His reforms were undoubtedly governed by genuine emotion, by penitence and open-heartedness.

"If mercy can once gleam where it seemed ruled out forever, it may yet be repeated. To rule out such a possibility would mean totally shutting the door on any hope for a peaceful evolution of our country."

Mr. Solzhenitsyn addresses the leaders of the Soviet Union as Russians, "which almost all of you are by birth," affirming his sense of Russian nationalism in the face of the many other ethnic groups that inhabit the Soviet Union.

## The Unparalleled Sufferings

"I wish all peoples well," he declares, "and the nearer they are and the more they depend on us, the more so. But what I am chiefly concerned with is the fate of precisely the Russian people, not only because, as the proverb has it, home is where the heart is, but even more deeply because of the unparalleled sufferings Russians have undergone."

The 55-year-old writer declares that he felt entitled to advance his ideas "to the extent that my name has assumed a certain weight in our country and abroad." He says that the letter might never have been written if one or more of the Soviet leaders "out of pure curiosity" had taken a few hours for a private chat to find out what made the author so opposed to the Communist regime and its policies.

Describing Marxism as a "dark un-Russian whirlwind that descended on us from the West," Mr. Solzhenitsyn says that the Marxist economic and political system has become a millstone around the Soviet leaders' necks.

"It has given you collectivization," he declares, in an allusion to the Soviet Union's farm problems, "the nationalization of small workshops and services (which has made life intolerable for the ordinary citizen, though it has had no impact on you); the necessity, for the sake of the grand international design, of pushing military development so far as to undermine the country's domestic existence, with the result that no time has been found in 55 years to develop Siberia; it has held up industrial development and technological renewal."

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### Stalin's Appeal in War

Mr. Solzhenitsyn says his suggestion that the leaders of the Soviet Union abandon their ideology had a precedent in World War II, when Stalin appealed to the national patriotism and even religious feelings of Russians in the struggle against Hitler.

"Although the war appeared to be against an ideology diametrically opposed to Soviet ideology," Mr. Solzhenitsyn writes, "Stalin lost faith at the outset in its putrescent and corrupt assistance. Wisely he cast it aside, forgot it almost, and unfurled instead the ancient standard of Russia, even at times, the Orthodox, or flame. And he won!"

A major theme in the writer's "Russia First" program is the need for the settlement and development of what he calls the "Northeast," the vast forested and sparsely inhabited reaches of northern Russia and Siberia.

This region, situated to the northeast of the Russian heartland, has a territory of four million square miles and a population of only four million people in scattered coastal towns and inland mining settlements and along major river valleys.

### Have Done Very Little

Although the author concedes that there has been some development there under Soviet rule—the population of the "Northeast" was half a million at the time of the 1917 Revolution—he contends that "by the standards of the age, we have done very little."

He voices dismay that the Soviet leadership is now eager to enlist Western capital in the development of Siberian resources.

"What an irony!" Mr. Solzhenitsyn writes. "For half a century, since 1920, we have proudly (and properly) refused to let foreigners exploit our natural wealth, and this could have been put down to our own great national ambitions."

"But we delayed more and more, lost more and more time, and now that the depletion of world energy reserves has become evident, we, the great industrial superpower, are behaving like the most backward country by inviting foreigners to dig our earth and offering them in exchange our priceless treasure—Siberian natural gas."

### Focus of Development

Describing Siberia as the focus of future Russian development, despite the region's

harsh climate and hostile environment, Mr. Solzhenitsyn says:

"We have only one solution, and the sooner the more effective it will be—to shift the center of the Government's attention and the center of national effort (and with it, the center of settlement and the focus of search for the young) from distant continents and even from Europe, and even from the south of our country into its Northeast."

In a footnote added for the published version of his program, Mr. Solzhenitsyn makes it clear that his proposal would mean abandonment of Soviet influence over other countries and even the ultimate dissolution of the Soviet Union as an amalgam of national regions.

"Of course," he writes, "such a shift must mean sooner or later lifting our trusteeship from Eastern Europe, the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and possibly even from parts of the present Ukraine. Nor can there be any question of our forcibly keeping any peripheral nation within the borders of our country."

### Future Russian State

Although Mr. Solzhenitsyn does not amplify on his plan for the dissolution of the Soviet Union, he apparently envisages a future Russian national state as consisting of the present Russian Republic and some adjacent territory with a predominantly Russian population.

In addition to abandoning Soviet sway over the countries of Eastern Europe, the Kremlin would also be expected by the author to drop its control over the Soviet Union's 14 non-Russian republics.

They are Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the Baltic; Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in Transcaucasia; Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, Turkmenia and Uzbekistan in Central Asia; the Ukraine, and two smaller republics not mentioned by Mr. Solzhenitsyn—Byelorussia and Moldavia.

The Soviet leadership over the years has had to contend with persistent nationalist sentiments among the major non-Russian republics within the Soviet Union, and some ethnic émigré groups in the West have been calling for ultimate independence of the areas from Russia.

### Half of Soviet Population

The Russian Republic, which stretches from Smolensk in the west to the Pacific in the east, accounts for about three-fourths of the Soviet Union's area and a little more than half its population.

The abandonment of a Communist ideology, retrenchment of Russians within their boundaries, and development of the empty spaces of the "Northeast" are also presented by Mr. Solzhenitsyn as steps that may help avert a war with a numerically superior China.

Describing such a conflict as primarily based on ideology, Mr. Solzhenitsyn contends that it may be fought over whether "the gospel truth is on Page 533 of Lenin's works, or on Page 335, as our opponent contends."

By renouncing Marxist ideology and leaving it to the Chinese, in the author's view, the Soviet leadership will eliminate one possible cause of such a war.

### To Avert Chinese Pressure

Russian settlement of Siberia would avert the "dynamic pressure of a billion Chinese against our thus far undeveloped Siberian lands, not just the strip that is being disputed under the old treaties, but all of Siberia," Mr. Solzhenitsyn writes.

He is alluding to border talks that began after armed clashes between Soviet and Chinese troops in the late nineteen-sixties. Peking has charged that the Czars acquired Chinese territory under unequal treaties in the 19th century and has called for Soviet renunciation of the treaties and minor territorial adjustments.

The author predicts that a war with China would be conventional, not nuclear, would be "the longest and bloodiest in the history of mankind" and would cost the Russians at least 60 million lives.

Such a war, in Mr. Solzhenitsyn's view would follow in general the scenario of Andrei Amalrik's "Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?" which predicted Russia's defeat in a conflict with China.

### Questions Industrial Progress

Mr. Solzhenitsyn adds that Mr. Amalrik, who was exiled to Siberia after publication of his book abroad, should instead have been made an expert adviser to the Kremlin.

In questioning the Soviet and Western premise of continual industrial progress, Mr. Solzhenitsyn refers the Kremlin leaders to Western studies that warn of global disaster unless economic growth is curbed. He quotes particularly from "The Limits of Growth," a 1972 report by a group at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which urged deliberate constraints on growth.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn emerges from his letter as a man who considers modern cities to be "cancerous tumors" who would outlaw the internal-combustion engine in favor of electricity and go back to the horse and buggy, if necessary.

Reverting to his cherished "Northeast" project in this context, he tells the Soviet leaders: "The construction of more than half a country afresh in a new place would enable us to avoid a repetition of the terrible mistakes of the 20th century, mistakes involving industry, highways, cities."

### Pure Air and Water

"If we wish to transcend the limited economic goals of today and present our children with a land of pure air and water, we must start now by curtailing the poisonous internal-combustion engine in favor of the electric motor, even the horse in some places."

"The urban life of our day, to which more than half our population is now condemned, is completely unnatural, as all of you agree, since every evening you flee the city to your country places."

"And all of you are old enough to remember the old cities, before the advent of the automobile—cities intended for people, horses and dogs, and street cars, too; human cities, welcoming and comfortable, the air ever pure. Cities that were snow-covered in winter, while in spring the sweet scent of gardens wafted over the fences into the streets. Almost every house had its garden, and only a few exceeded two stories, the perfect height for a human dwelling."

If Marxism goes, what political system does Mr. Solzhenitsyn envisage for Russia? Certainly not Western democracy, which he says is "experiencing a great decline, perhaps its last decline."

### Democracy Criticized

Contending that democracy is devoid of ethical foundation, Mr. Solzhenitsyn describes it as little more than a framework in which "parties and social classes engage in a conflict of interests, just interests, nothing higher."

For his Russian national state, the novelist looks to a vaguely defined authoritarian but benevolent system based on the love of man.

"Russia is authoritarian," he

declares, "Let it remain so, and let us no longer try to change that. But the authoritarian system must be based on genuine concern and love on the part of the rulers, not only for themselves and those around them, but also for all their people, and all neighboring peoples, too."

Lest the Soviet leaders felt that he was seeking to oust them from power, Mr. Solzhenitsyn says that they may stay government if they renounce the all-pervasive Communist party system that now rules and parallels the governmental administration in the Soviet Union at all levels.

Elsewhere, however, the novelist suggests that he would even allow the continued existence of a strong political party provided it tolerated greater intellectual freedom.

"What have you to fear?" he writes. "Is it really such a frightening prospect? Are you

really so unsure of yourselves? All your invincible power would remain intact, a single, strong closed party, an army, police, industry, transportation, communications, mineral resources, a monopoly over foreign trade, the artificial parity of the ruble—but let the people breathe, think, develop!

"Allow freedom in the arts, in literature, the freedom to publish, not political books—God forbid!—not appeals or election leaflets, but philosophical, ethical, economic and sociological works.

"All this will yield a rich harvest; it will bear fruit—in Russia, and for you, too, and you will be serving the interests of Russia.

"Such a free growth of thought will soon save you the trouble of belatedly translating every new idea from Western languages, as has happened throughout this half-century as you well know."

### *Solzhenitsyn's Letter Is Published in Paris*

PARIS, March 2. (UPI)—Aleksander I. Solzhenitsyn's Paris publishers today put on sale his letter to the Soviet leaders.

A statement by the YMCA-Press said that the letter, written last September, had been sent to the Soviet leaders but never answered. YMCA-Press published Mr. Solzhenitsyn's last book, "The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956," in Russian on Dec. 29. After the appearance of that account of the Soviet prison-camp system, the Government expelled Mr. Solzhenitsyn from the country on Feb. 13.

Jean Morozov of YMCA-Press said that the new work was titled "Open Letter to the Soviet Leaders." It is in Russian.

The publishing house said: "In the letter, Solzhenitsyn analyzes the political, economic and moral condition of the Soviet Union and proposes a series of concrete measures that would allow the country to avoid the national catastrophe that, according to the author, threatens it. And this without necessarily changing the form of the government."

# A Russian Nationalist Looks to the Past

By NAN ROBERTSON  
Special to The New York Times

PARIS, March 2—Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, in his 15,000-word "letter to the rulers of the Soviet Union," reveals himself to the bottom of his soul as a Russian, not a Soviet, nationalist.

The document, as made available in its original version before modifications by the author, is messianic, patriotic, utopian and religious in tone; anti-democratic, anti-Western, a rejection of the alien, corrupting world outside the borders of mother Russia, holy Russia.

It is an actual letter, sent to the Soviet authorities and dated Sept. 5, 1973, that seems to show he meant seriously to speak with "one or several of you." It is not an "open letter." The Nobel prize-winning author waited several months without a hint of a response or reaction before deciding to make it public after his expulsion from the Soviet Union last month.

It is a letter of proposal, a "way out" toward what he deems to be the salvation of the Russian people. The writer shows that he is seeking not to change the present authoritarian structure, except to make it more benevolent. He believes that the only hopeful future is in Russia's deep past.

## Attacks Marxism as Western

At the same time it is a running attack on the "obsolete," "decrepit," "dead-end," "angry" Communist ideology — "this dark, un-Russian whirlwind" that "descended on us from the West" to ravage and ruin the country. He is convinced that Marxist doctrine must be abandoned if Russia is to be saved.

Those who know the Soviet Union say that Mr. Solzhenitsyn's letter is the most anti-Communist public statement made by a Russian since the Bolshevik Revolution.

Yit for Westerners, it also

delimitates a complicated position and dispels the notion that if a Soviet dissident intellectual is against the Government, he is automatically for the West and democracy.

What Mr. Solzhenitsyn is asking for is a kind of benign autocracy or tyranny in the land he loves—provided it is not Communist.

## Different From Sakharov

This would tend to isolate him theoretically from the small group of other outspoken Soviet

dissidents such as the physicist Andrei D. Sakharov, whose philosophical differences with the Soviet system are those of a modern Western liberal. Mr. Sakharov hopes for the "convergence" of Russia and the democratic West. Mr. Solzhenitsyn hopes for the opposite.

Addressing the Soviet leaders, he says: "We both want the same thing: to avoid revolutionary upheavals here, not to introduce a Western parliamentary system, and to preserve the entire present disposition of the leadership."

He wants to abandon all pretense of a race with the West in both technological gigantism and democracy "at the moment of their imminent collapse."

Mr. Solzhenitsyn has never been so uncompromising in his view that democracy has not worked in foreign lands and is crumbling everywhere now. He points out that it worked in Russia only for eight months in 1917—between the overthrow of the Czar and the Bolshevik take-over—and will never take root there in the future.

## U.S. Democracy 'Ungovernable'

He calls democracy in the United States "rampant" and "ungovernable," a place where the courts, "no longer impartial," acquit undoubted enemies of their country simply to play along with the passions of the masses.

He says: "I invite you and everyone who may read this letter to assent to and become reconciled to this: Russia is au-

thoritarian, let it remain so, and let us no longer try to change that. But the authoritarian system must be based on genuine concern and love on the part of the rulers."

The document, which became very discursive, expresses vehement and at times almost chaotic feelings. Words tumble and spill over one another in a raging jet of emotion.

The text is studded with visual emphases — capitalized or double-spaced words and phrases, underlinings, exclamation marks—that convey the author's urgency and distress.

## Defiance and Courage

It is an intensely personal statement expressing his defiance and a courage forged during years of prison and exile.

"I long ago grew out of your shell," he tells the Soviet leaders at the end of his letter. "The things I write will be printed regardless of your permission or prohibition. I am

ready to lay down my life."

He also projects a sense of his own singularity, and wonders why none of the Soviet leaders, "out of pure curiosity," could spare an hour to talk to this "obstinate prodigal," this "rare fish of a compatriot" who can be "neither sacked nor demoted by you, nor promoted, nor honored."

For these reasons, he says, he could have given them a point of view free of any selfish professional interest, one that not even the best experts in the apparatus could have given the men who rule the Soviet Union.

## A Religious Believer

Mr. Solzhenitsyn comes through powerfully as a religious believer and a moralist who scornfully points to atheism as the moving force of Marxism. Elsewhere, he says that present-day democracy has "no ethical base" and therefore is experiencing "not only political collapse but spiritual weakness."

The letter is also a strong isolationist declaration, calling on Russia to turn "away from the distant continents, away from Europe even" and to dis-Communist and nationalist engage itself from all foreign

If only we had the strength, brain and heart to put our own house in order, let alone look after the entire planet," he says.

The author is convinced that Russia's degeneration began with Peter the Great, who threw her gates open to the West, bringing in technology and borrowing foreign words and ways.

## Squandering Resources

Later, he says, "we had to drag ourselves along the whole Western bourgeois-industrial and Marxist path in order to be told at the end of the 20th

century what every country bumpkin in Russia knew instinctively,—that the earth is finite and so are its resources, and that Russia, like other countries, is squandering her natural riches.

Not only does he view the West as materialistic and morally bankrupt, but he predicts "the joint collapse of our civilization and the West's in the crush and stink of a polluted earth."

The "back-to-nature," "back-to-the-peasant" theme that permeates the letter is new for Mr. Solzhenitsyn. But it is profoundly in the stream of past Russian literature, with its visionary link with the land and the people.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn reveals himself as not just an environmentalist in the current mode, but a utopian in the grand Russian tradition.

## Fears War With China

He is as much seized with the dream of a "quiet country," a land of pure air and clean water for future Russian generations, as he is gripped by his apocalyptic vision of a cataclysmic, unwinnable war with China over related ideologies, "differing only in detail."

Mr. Solzhenitsyn is looking for a new world, and he finds it in the past. His letter is pervaded by a romanticized longing for the old, human cities, the sweet scent of gardens, two-story buildings—"the perfect height for a human dwelling."

He calls for the dispersal of the Russian population to these vast and empty spaces of the Northeast, where "such beautiful towns" will be built.

## Back to the Horse

Do away with the internal combustion engine, go back to the electric automobile and the horse, sweep from the skies "those boring armadas" of screaming military planes maneuvering night and day, he demands. Banish the noise of greedy, relentless economic progress that "produces drunks and hooligans" in the cities "who can't leave a passing woman in peace."

These new forces are subverting and destroying the family, forcing women to do heavy work despite the boasts of "feminine equality gained" and day-care centers provided.

Liberate women from "the crowbar and the shovel," the author pleads. "To save them from this humiliation, who would not abandon the subsidization of South American revolutionaries?"

Through the whole of this tumultuous document, Mr. Solzhenitsyn the man wells up: a seared soul, a burning mind, an old-fashioned idealist, a classic Russian patriot — and alone.



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071A

POEM 2-19

BY GORDON F. JOSELOFF

MOSCOW (UPI) -- A LIBERAL POET HAS PUBLISHED A POEM WHICH MOSCOW INTELLECTUALS SAY IS A DEFENSE OF AUTHOR ALEXANDER I. SOLZHENITSYN. THE POEM, "NOT COMPLETELY," IS BY BORIS A. SLUTSKY AND APPEARS IN THE LATEST ISSUE OF YUNOST MAGAZINE, A LITERARY MONTHLY PUBLISHED BY THE WRITERS UNION.

ACCORDING TO INFORMATION CIRCULATING IN LITERARY CIRCLES, SLUTSKY WROTE THE POEM IN RESPONSE TO LAST FALLS PRESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN AND NUCLEAR PHYSICIST ANDREI D. SAKHAROV.

THE PUBLICATION OF THE POEM ONLY A FEW DAYS AFTER THE EXPULSION OF SOLZHENITSYN IS A COINCIDENCE, THE INTELLECTUALS SAID. THE MAGAZINE IS PREPARED SEVERAL MONTHS IN ADVANCE.

SLUTSKY FIRST CAME TO ATTENTION IN THE LATE 1950S WITH HIS ANTI-STALINIST POEMS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF YEVGENY YEVTUSHENKO. YEVTUSHENKO LAST WEEK SENT A TELEGRAM TO SOVIET LEADERS EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER SOLZHENITSYN'S FATE AND SAID AUTHORITIES IN REPLY CANCELED A WEEKEND SONG CONCERT BASED ON HIS WORKS.

SOVIET SOURCES SAID A NUMBER OF WRITERS HAVE BEEN WARNED NOT TO MAKE STATEMENTS OR SIGN APPEALS IN SUPPORT OF SOLZHENITSYN. THEY SAID AUTHORITIES HAVE THREATENED ANY WRITER WHO DOES SO MAY FACE EXPULSION FROM THE WRITERS UNION, AND ONE OR TWO EXPULSIONS MIGHT COME THIS WEEK.

EXPULSION MEANS AN AUTHOR CANNOT HAVE HIS WORKS PUBLISHED HERE.

SLUTSKY'S POEM:

DESTROYED BY HUMILIATION,  
 BUT NOT SIMPLY DESTROYED,  
 MAN STILL SOMETIMES RISES UP  
 AND THREATENS THEM ALL,  
 ALL OF THOSE WHO HUMILIATED HIM IN THE BELIEF  
 THAT THEY WERE DESTROYING HIM.

BUT THE ONE WHO HAS BEEN HUMILIATED,

TRAMPLED,

SLANDERED,

WHISPERED AGAINST,

ALL THE SAME RETAINS

LIKE A GIFT BESTOWED BY GOD,

AN ANSWERING BLOW.

HE STILL HAS THAT BITTER, SALTY,

SOUR AND SWEET

TASTE IN HIS MOUTH

AND A GREEN LEAF OF HOPE

ASPIRING TO THE HEIGHTS.

UPI 02-19 07:26 AED

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FEB 22 1974

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

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## ARRIVES IN WEST GERMANY

# Russians Expel Solzhenitsyn

BONN (UPI) — Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn left the Soviet Union and arrived in West Germany today, a day after his forcible arrest in Moscow.

A West German spokesman had announced that his government had agreed "to accept" the Nobel Prize winning novelist when informed by the Soviet Union he was coming. He had repeatedly said he would not leave Russia voluntarily.

Solzhenitsyn Charges "Our Law Is Slippery."

Solzhenitsyn's wife, Natalya, and three young children remained behind in the Soviet capital where seven Soviet policemen muscled their way into his apartment yesterday and took him away.

A spokesman for the West German Lufthansa Airline said its offi-

cials saw Solzhenitsyn debark from an Aeroflot plane at Frankfurt Airport and enter a car bearing the license number BD 7-27. The BD-7 series of licenses belongs to the West German Foreign Ministry.

EARLIER, a German provincial official said he would go to the home of fellow Nobel Prize winner, German author Heinrich Böll.

At Langenbroich, in the Eifel

Mountains west of Cologne, where Böll has a country home, the German author said, "I know nothing. I have come here to work in peace on a new novel."

The Lufthansa spokesman said the Aeroflot airliner landed shortly before noon. He said the plane stopped at its unloading area and about 40 passengers debarked.

See SOLZHENITSYN, A-4

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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# SOLZHENITSYN

Continued from Page A-1

"Last off, the plane was Mr. Solzhenitsyn, escorted by Aeroflot security men," the spokesman said.

"Mr. Solzhenitsyn got directly into the black Mercedes car which left the airport by a back exit."

Airport security men kept reporters and photographers 1,500 feet away from the plane and the Mercedes car, which was escorted by two or three police cars.

Solzhenitsyn arrived about two hours after a government spokesman confirmed in Bonn he was coming to West Germany.

**THE AUTHOR'S** wife, Natalya, said in Moscow that Soviet authorities told her that her husband had been "sent out" of the country.

(At the White House, deputy press secretary Gerald L. Warren declined to comment on Solzhenitsyn's case.

"I have no specific comment to give you or President's reaction on this whole matter," Warren said.

(Asked if President Nixon did not care about the deportation or if the position was based on diplomatic considerations, Warren said, "The administration view and regard for human rights, I believe, is clear. I just have no comment to give you today.")

In Stockholm Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden said today the arrest of Solzhenitsyn was a "frightening example of brutality and persecution" and that the decision could endanger efforts towards detente.

**CONFUSION** preceded Solzhenitsyn's arrival. In Duesseldorf, Interior Minister Willi Weyer of North Rhineland-Westphalia

said Solzhenitsyn arrived at Frankfurt's Rhine-Main Airport this morning and went to Boell's home. Later, a West German spokesman in Bonn said he had not yet arrived but that the Soviet government had informed West Germany he was coming and West Germany "is prepared to accept Mr. Solzhenitsyn."

When Solzhenitsyn, 55, was arrested yesterday, he left behind a letter which

said: "Kill me quickly because I write the truth about Russian history."

During the official campaign against Solzhenitsyn, official Soviet media accused him of being a traitor and suggested he leave the country. He had refused to leave voluntarily. Friends had said they feared his arrest would be the first step towards expulsion.

Writers, politicians and government officials in the western world condemned his arrest. There were calls for a cultural, trade and political boycott of Russia and an end to detente until he was released.

**AS PRESIDENT** of the International Pen Club, Boell has spoken repeatedly in Solzhenitsyn's defense, most recently yesterday, when he said the Soviet author had the right to know why police wished to interrogate him and the right to have a lawyer.

West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, a Social Democrat, said in a speech to the Academy of Science in Munich on Feb. 12 that "Solzhenitsyn would be able to live free and work without hindrance here in the federal republic of Germany."

Solzhenitsyn's wife Natalya told reporters in Moscow that she had received a telephone call from a man who said he spoke for Soviet authorities but did not identify himself.

In the letter written in anticipation of his arrest and disclosed by his wife early today, the dissident author said:

"I declare any court incompetent to judge Russian literature, each of its books and Russian authors."

"If such a court is called against me, I will not go on my own legs. I will not respond to any questions of such a court."

**SOLZHENITSYN** said that if convicted he would not work "even a half hour" in a labor camp and authorities would then have only one recourse: to kill him.

Seven police agents stormed into Solzhenitsyn's apartment in central Moscow yesterday in what his wife described as a "terribly rough" arrest.

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UPI069

(SOLZHENITSYN)

ZURICH (UPI) -- DISSIDENT RUSSIAN AUTHOR ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN ARRIVED IN SWITZERLAND TODAY TO REST FROM HIS DRAMATIC EXPULSION FROM THE SOVIET UNION AT A TEMPORARY HOME-IN-EXILE ON A QUITE SUBURBAN STREET.

A TRAIN CARRYING SOLZHENITSYN FROM WEST GERMANY ARRIVED IN ZURICH UNDER HEAVY POLICE GUARD AND THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING AUTHOR WAS ENGULFED BY A CHEERING CROWD OF HUNDREDS OF PERSONS.

ACCOMPANIED BY LAWYER FRITZ HEEB, SOLZHENITSYN MADE HIS WAY THROUGH THE CROWD, GOT INTO A GREEN MERCEDES BENZ LIMOUSINE, AND DROVE AWAY UNDER SWISS POLICE ESCORT.

"MR. SOLZHENITSYN WILL RECEIVE THE PEACE AND PRIVACY WHICH HE SO RICHLY DESERVES," SAID A SWISS GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN.

SOLZHENITSYN PLANNED TO REST UP AT HIS LAWYER'S APARTMENT IN THE ZURICH SUBURB OF OERLIKON. HE WILL ALSO CONSULT WITH HEEB ABOUT HIS ACCUMULATED ROYALTIES, WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTIMATED AS HIGH AS \$6 MILLION BY SOME SOURCES.

THE SWISS GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID HE DID NOT KNOW HOW LONG SOLZHENITSYN PLANNED TO STAY IN SWITZERLAND OR WHETHER HE WILL TRY TO BRING HIS FAMILY TO THE COUNTRY. THE SOVIET UNION SAID HIS FAMILY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE, BUT DID NOT SAY WHEN.

UPI 02-15 12:20 PED

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UPI107

(HELMS)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- SEN. JESSE HELMS, R-N. C., PROPOSED TODAY THAT CONGRESS CONFER HONORARY U.S. CITIZENSHIP ON EXILED RUSSIAN AUTHOR ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN AS A TRIBUTE TO HIS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM.

SOLZHENITSYN, A 55-YEAR-OLD NOBEL PRIZE WINNING WRITER, WAS ARRESTED AT HIS APARTMENT IN MOSCOW ON TUESDAY AND EXILED TO WEST GERMANY. THE SOVIET NEWS AGENCY TASS REPORTED THAT THE SUPREME SOVIET EXILED SOLZHENITSYN BECAUSE OF "SYSTEMATIC ACTIONS" NOT IN ACCORD WITH SOVIET CITIZENSHIP.

HELMS SAID HE WILL INTRODUCE A JOINT RESOLUTION IN THE SENATE ON MONDAY TO CONFER THE HONORARY CITIZENSHIP ON SOLZHENITSYN, WHOM HE CALLED A "COURAGEOUS WITNESS TO THE TRUTH OF SOVIET HISTORY AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY."

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UPI034

(SOLZHENITSYN)

FLORENCE, ITALY (UPI)--SOVIET NUCLEAR PHYSICIST ANDREI SAKHAROV AND OTHER RUSSIAN DISSIDENTS CALLED TODAY FOR AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL TO INVESTIGATE SECRET POLICE CRIMES OF THE STALIN ERA. MRS. MARIA OLSOUFIEVA, THE ITALIAN TRANSLATOR OF WORKS BY EXILED SOVIET AUTHOR ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, SAID SAKHAROV DICTATED THE APPEAL TO HER BY TELEPHONE FROM MOSCOW.

THE MANIFESTO TITLED "APPEAL FROM MOSCOW," ALSO DEMANDED THAT SOVIET AUTHORITIES ALLOW SOLZHENITSYN TO RETURN TO HIS COUNTRY AND PUBLISH HIS BOOK "THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO" THERE. THE BOOK, DEALING WITH STALIN ERA PRISON CAMPS AND PUBLISHED IN THE WEST, LED TO SOLZHENITSYN'S ARREST AND DEPORTATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION WEDNESDAY.

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UPI019

(SOLZHENITSYN)  
 COLOGNE, GERMANY (UPI) -- EXILED SOVIET WRITER ALEXANDER  
 SOLZHENITSYN, ACCOMPANIED BY A DETACHMENT OF WEST GERMAN POLICE AND  
 HIS SWISS LAWYER, TODAY BOARDED A TRAIN FOR SWITZERLAND WHERE HE  
 REPORTEDLY HAS SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS IN ROYALTIES AWAITING HIM.  
 IN FERN, SWISS AUTHORITIES SAID POLICE WOULD MEET THE  
 PRIZE-WINNING SOVIET AUTHOR AT THE BORDER AT BASEL TO SAFEGUARD HIS  
 JOURNEY TO ZURICH WHERE HE WILL DISCUSS HIS FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.  
 THE SWISS GOVERNMENT SAID TODAY THE AUTHOR WILL RECEIVE THE "PEACE  
 AND PRIVACY WHICH HE SO RICHLY DESERVES" WHILE IN SWITZERLAND.  
 SOLZHENITSYN, WHO WAS TRAVELING ON A TEMPORARY WEST GERMAN PASSPORT  
 DESIGNED FOR FOREIGNERS WITHOUT NATIONALITY, WILL RECEIVE A  
 THREE-MONTH VISA IN SWITZERLAND, A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL SAID.  
 MOSCOW (UPI) -- THE SOVIET PRESS, WHICH HOUNDED AUTHOR ALEXANDER  
 SOLZHENITSYN WHILE HE REMAINED IN RUSSIA, TODAY DRANDED HIM A  
 "TRAITOR," "DIRT" AND "DEEPLY DISGUSTING."  
 MOST NEWSPAPERS CARRIED COLUMNS OF LETTERS ATTACKING THE NOEL  
 PRIZE-WINNING AUTHOR AND APPLAUDING THE GOVERNMENT DECISION WEDNESDAY  
 STRIPPING HIM OF HIS CITIZENSHIP AND EXILING HIM TO WEST GERMANY.  
 THE LETTERS BEGAN APPEARING IN THURSDAY AFTERNOON PAPERS. THE  
 SOVIET PRESS DID NOT EXPLAIN HOW THE LETTERS HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM  
 ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY LESS THAN 24 HOURS AFTER THE EXPULSION WAS  
 ANNOUNCED.

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GULAG 2-15

Y. GORDON F. JOSELOFF

MOSCOW (UPI) -- THE SOVIET PRESS, WHICH HOUNDED AUTHOR ALEXANDER I. SOLZHENITSYN WHILE HE REMAINED IN RUSSIA, TODAY BRANDED HIM A "TRAITOR," "DIRT" AND "DEEPLY DISGUSTING." MOST NEWSPAPERS CARRIED COLUMNS OF LETTERS ATTACKING THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING AUTHOR AND APPLAUDING THE GOVERNMENT DECISION WEDNESDAY STRIPPING HIM OF HIS CITIZENSHIP AND EXILING HIM TO WEST GERMANY. THE LETTERS BEGAN APPEARING IN THURSDAY AFTERNOON PAPERS. THE SOVIET PRESS DID NOT EXPLAIN HOW THE LETTERS HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY LESS THAN 24 HOURS AFTER THE EXPULSION WAS ANNOUNCED.

FRIENDS OF THE SOLZHENITSYN FAMILY SAID THURSDAY THAT AUTHORITIES FORMALLY CHARGED SOLZHENITSYN WITH TREASON, WHICH CARRIES A POSSIBLE DEATH SENTENCE, BEFORE THEY DEPORTED HIM WEDNESDAY.

ONE LETTER IN PRAVDA TODAY, SIGNED BY WORKERS IN MINSK, SAID THE GOVERNMENT DECISION TO EXPEL SOLZHENITSYN WAS "ABSOLUTELY FAIR."

"WE SHOULD HAVE CLEARED OUR SOVIET HOME OF SUCH DIRT," THEY SAID. L. SHEGEDA, A MILKMAID FROM THE ZHITOMIR REGION AND A HEROINE OF SOCIALIST LABOR, WROTE: "SUCH CHARACTERS AS SOLZHENITSYN ARE DEEPLY DISGUSTING FOR AGRICULTURAL WORKERS, AS WELL AS THE ENTIRE SOVIET PEOPLE."

MOSCOW ACTOR FORIS SMIRNOV, A LENIN PRIZE WINNER, CALLED SOLZHENITSYN A "TRAITOR" AND SAID HE HAD BEEN SELLING EVERYTHING THAT IS DEAR TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE FOR HARD CURRENCY.

STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR SOLZHENITSYN WERE ISSUED HERE AND ABROAD BY HIS FRIENDS AS ACCOUNTS OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THE 25 HOURS BETWEEN HIS ARREST AND ARRIVAL IN EXILE IN WEST GERMANY BEGAN TO CIRCULATE.

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SOLZ 2-15

2ND LD 029A (PREVIOUS LANGENBROICH)

BY JAMES WARD

COLOGNE, GERMANY (UPI) -- EXILED SOVIET WRITER ALEXANDER I. SOLZHENITSYN, ACCOMPANIED BY A DETACHMENT OF WEST GERMAN POLICE AND HIS SWISS LAWYER, TODAY BOARDED A TRAIN FOR SWITZERLAND WHERE HE REPORTEDLY HAS SEVERAL MILLION DOLLARS IN ROYALTIES AWAITING HIM. IN EERN, SWISS AUTHORITIES SAID POLICE WOULD MEET THE PRIZE-WINNING SOVIET AUTHOR AT THE BORDER AT BASEL TO SAFEGUARD HIS JOURNEY TO ZURICH WHERE HE WILL DISCUSS HIS FINANCIAL AFFAIRS. THE SWISS GOVERNMENT SAID TODAY THE AUTHOR WILL RECEIVE THE "PEACE

AND PRIVACY WHICH HE SO RICHLY DESERVES" WHILE IN SWITZERLAND. SOLZHENITSYN, WHO WAS TRAVELING ON A TEMPORARY WEST GERMAN

PASSPORT DESIGNED FOR FOREIGNERS WITHOUT NATIONALITY, WILL RECEIVE A THREE-MONTH VISA IN SWITZERLAND, A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL SAID.

BEFORE DAWN, SOLZHENITSYN EXCHANGED A FINAL BEAR HUG WITH FELLOW NOBEL PRIZE WINNER HEINRICH BOELL, WHO HAD PROVIDED A HAVEN TO THE EXPATRIATE DURING HIS FIRST TWO NIGHTS IN EXILE.

A LAST LOOK AROUND THE PASTORAL SCENE IN THE VILLAGE OF LANGENBROICH, THEN SOLZHENITSYN CLIMBED INTO A TAXI FOR A TRIP TO COLOGNE, WHERE HE BOARDED AN EXPRESS BOUND FOR ZURICH AT 8:17 A.M. THE RIDE TO ZURICH, MOSTLY THROUGH THE RHINE VALLEY, REQUIRED SEVEN HOURS.

SOLZHENITSYN AND LAWYER FRITZ HEEB, TOGETHER WITH AN INTERPRETER, OCCUPIED A SIX-SEAT FIRST CLASS COMPARTMENT ON THE TRAIN. WEST GERMAN POLICEMEN STOOD WATCH IN THE CORRIDOR TO SHIELD THEM FROM OTHER TRAVELLERS.

THE RUSSIAN HAS NOT YET DECIDED WHERE TO SETTLE IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD.

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UP1069

(SOLZHENITSYN)

ZURICH (UPI) -- DISSIDENT RUSSIAN AUTHOR ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN ARRIVED IN SWITZERLAND TODAY TO REST FROM HIS DRAMATIC EXPULSION FROM THE SOVIET UNION AT A TEMPORARY HOME-IN-EXILE ON A QUITE SUPURPAN

TRAIN CARRYING SOLZHENITSYN FROM WEST GERMANY ARRIVED IN ZURICH UNDER HEAVY POLICE GUARD AND THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING AUTHOR WAS GREETED BY A CHEERING CROWD OF HUNDREDS OF PERSONS.

ACCOMPANIED BY LAWYER FRITZ HEEB, SOLZHENITSYN MADE HIS WAY THROUGH THE CROWD, GOT INTO A GREEN MERCEDES BENZ LIMOUSINE, AND DROVE AWAY UNDER SWISS POLICE ESCORT.

"SOLZHENITSYN WILL RECEIVE THE PEACE AND PRIVACY WHICH HE SO HEAVILY DESERVES," SAID A SWISS GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN.

SOLZHENITSYN PLANNED TO REST UP AT HIS LAWYER'S APARTMENT IN THE ZURICH SUBURB OF OERLIKON. HE WILL ALSO CONSULT WITH HEEB ABOUT HIS ACCUMULATED ROYALTIES, WHICH HAVE BEEN ESTIMATED AS HIGH AS \$6 MILLION BY SOME SOURCES.

THE SWISS GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID HE DID NOT KNOW HOW LONG SOLZHENITSYN PLANNED TO STAY IN SWITZERLAND OR WHETHER HE WILL TRY TO BRING HIS FAMILY TO THE COUNTRY. THE SOVIET UNION SAID HIS FAMILY WOULD BE ALLOWED TO LEAVE, BUT DID NOT SAY WHEN.

UPI 02-15 12:20 PED

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188 FEB 21 1974

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UPI047

(SOLZHENITSYN)

BOON (UPI) -- WEST GERMANY SAID TODAY THAT RUSSIA'S MOST FAMOUS LIVING AUTHOR, DISSIDENT ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, WILL LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION AND COME HERE FOLLOWING HIS ARREST TUESDAY IN MOSCOW.

IN A STATEMENT WHICH HE SAID WAS ISSUED TO CLEAR UP SOME CONFUSION, RUEDIGER VON WECHMAR, SPOKESMAN FOR WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT, SAID:

"THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN INFORMED BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT THAT MR. SOLZHENITSYN WILL TRAVEL ABROAD.

"THE GOVERNMENT HAS STATED THAT IT IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT MR. SOLZHENITSYN...MR. SOLZHENITSYN HAS NOT YET ARRIVED HERE."

WILLI WEYER, INTERIOR MINISTER OF THE WEST GERMAN STATE OF NORTH RHINE-WESTPHALIA, TOLD REPORTERS IN DUESSELDORF TWO HOURS EARLIER THAT SOLZHENITSYN ALREADY HAD ARRIVED IN WEST GERMANY, WITHOUT HIS FAMILY.

WEYER SAID SOLZHENITSYN ARRIVED AT FRANKFURT'S RHINE-MAIN AIRPORT THIS MORNING AND WENT TO A HOME WHICH FELLOW NOBEL PRIZE WINNER, GERMAN AUTHOR HEINRICH BOELL, MAINTAINS IN THE EIFFEL MOUNTAINS BETWEEN COLOGNE AND THE BELGIAN BORDER.

IN MOSCOW, HIS WIFE NATAYLA SAID SHE HAD BEEN TOLD HE HAD BEEN "SENT OUT" OF THE COUNTRY. HIS APPARENT EXPULSION CAME ONLY HOURS AFTER SOVIET POLICE MUSCLED THEIR WAY INTO HIS MOSCOW APARTMENT TUESDAY AND LED HIM AWAY. IT CLIMAXED A FIERCE CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIM TOUCHED OFF BY THE PUBLICATION IN THE WEST OF HIS LATEST BOOK ABOUT THE SOVIET SYSTEM OF FORCED LABOR, "THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO."

UPI 02-13 10:52 AED

UPI048

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IN UPI-047 (SOLZHENITSYN) 3RD PGH READ IT XXX WILL TRAVEL ABROAD TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY." (ADDING DROPPED WORDS).

UPI 02-13 10:53 AED

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UPI058

ADD SOLZHENITSYN, BONN (UPI-047)

VON WECHMAR ADDED THAT "THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT KNOW WHETHER MR. SOLZHENITSYN WILL SETTLE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC."

A SPOKESMAN AT FRANKFURT'S RHINE-MAIN AIRPORT SAID SOLZHENITSYN WILL ARRIVE AT FRANKFURT'S RHINE-MAIN AIRPORT AT 4:05 P.M. (11:05 A.M. EDT) ABOARD A SOVIET AEROFLOT PASSENGER PLANE.

"MR. SOLZHENITSYN WILL BE TAKEN BY CAR DIRECTLY FROM PLANESIDE TO A PLACE OUTSIDE FRANKFURT," THE SPOKESMAN SAID.

THE SPOKESMAN ADDED THAT AT THE REQUEST OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND "IN MR. SOLZHENITSYN'S INTEREST", REPORTERS WOULD BE KEPT AWAY FROM THE SOVIET PLANE.

UPI 02-13 11:17 AED

UPI059

Alexander

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ADD SOLZHENITSYN, BONN

IN ZURICH, THE OFFICE OF SOLZHENITSYN'S SWISS LAWYER SAID TODAY IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE AUTHOR HAS NOT BEEN FORMALLY EXPELLED FROM THE SOVIET UNION.

"WE EXPECT TO BE CONTACTED BY MR. SOLZHENITSYN AS SOON AS HE ARRIVES IN THE WEST," SAID AN ASSISTANT TO DR. FRITZ HEEB, THE ZURICH LAWYER WHO HANDLES THE WRITER'S FINANCIAL AFFAIRS IN THE WEST.

"WE DID NOT KNOW BEFOREHAND THAT HE WOULD BE COMING BUT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT HE HAS BEEN FORMALLY EXPELLED," THE ASSISTANT SAID.

HEEB'S OFFICE SAID THE LAWYER HIMSELF WAS IN CONFERENCE AND WAS UNAVAILABLE.

UPI 02-13 11:19 AED

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UPI095  
(EXILE)

*File Foreign*

MOSCOW (UPI) -- THE SOVIET UNION ANNOUNCED TONIGHT NOBEL PRIZE WINNING AUTHOR ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN HAS BEEN DEPORTED FOR ACTIONS INCOMPATIBLE WITH SOVIET CITIZENSHIP.

(A MOSCOW DISPATCH FROM THE TASS NEWS AGENCY MONITORED IN NEW YORK SAID A GOVERNMENT DECREE STRIPPED HIM OF CITIZENSHIP AND HIS FAMILY WILL BE ALLOWED TO JOIN HIM IN EXILE.)

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UPI030

ADD SOLZHENITSYN, BONN (UPI-011)

WEYER TOLD NEWSMEN NEWSMEN SOLZHENITSYN ARRIVED AT FRANKFURT'S RHINE-MAIN AIRPORT THIS MORNING WITHOUT HIS FAMILY AND WENT FROM THERE TO A HOME BOELL MAINTAINS IN THE EIFFEL MOUNTAINS BETWEEN COLOGNE AND THE BELGIAN BORDER.

BOELL'S BONN OFFICE WAS THE FIRST TO CONFIRM SOLZHENITSYN'S ARRIVAL IN THE WEST.

BOELL, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WRITERS ODY PEN, HAD CAMPAIGNED IN MANY COUNTRIES TO SUPPORT SOLZHENITSYN'S EFFORTS TO WIN POLITICAL AND LITERARY FREEDOM INSIDE RUSSIA.

SOLZHENITSYN'S WIFE NATALYA TOLD NEWSMEN IN MOSCOW THAT SHE HAD RECEIVED A TELEPHONE CALL FROM A MAN WHO SAID HE SPOKE FOR SOVIET AUTHORITIES BUT DID NOT IDENTIFY HIMSELF.

"I WILL NOT BELIEVE IT UNTIL I HEAR IT FROM HEINRICH BOELL HIMSELF," SHE SAID.

THERE WAS NO IMMEDIATE OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION IN MOSCOW THAT HE HAD BEEN EXPELLED OR EXILED. AN OFFICIAL OF THE STATE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE SAID HE COULD NOT ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT SOLZHENITSYN.

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UPI083

*Brakey*

ADD SOLZHENITSYN, BORN AT LANGENROICH, IN THE EIFEL MOUNTAINS WEST OF COLOGNE, WHERE BOELL HAS A COUNTRY HOME, THE GERMAN AUTHOR SAID "I KNOW NOTHING. I HAVE COME HERE TO WORK IN PEACE ON A NEW NOVEL."

THE LUFTHANSA SPOKESMAN SAID THE AEROFLOT AIRLINER LANDED AT 4:13 P.M. (11:13 A.M. EDT). HE SAID THE PLANE STOPPED AT ITS UNLOADING AREA AND ABOUT 40 PASSENGERS DEBARKED.

"LAST OFF THE PLANE WAS MR. SOLZHENITSYN, ESCORTED BY AEROFLOT SECURITY MEN," THE SPOKESMAN SAID.

"MR. SOLZHENITSYN GOT DIRECTLY INTO THE BLACK MERCEDES CAR WHICH LEFT THE AIRPORT BY A BACK EXIT."

UPI 02-13 12:38 PED  
*Alexander*

*S. J. [unclear]*

FEB 13 1974

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SOLZ 2-13

BULLETIN

2ND LD 051A--PREVIOUS MOSCOW

OWN (UPI) -- SOVIET AUTHOR ALEXANDER I. SOLZHENITSYN ARRIVED IN WEST GERMANY TODAY AND HEADED FOR THE HOME OF FELLOW NOBEL-PRIZE WINNER HEINRICH BOELL, THE GERMAN WRITER'S OFFICE SAID TODAY.

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1ST ADD 2ND LD SOLZ OWN 073A A X X TODAY.

IN DUESSELDORF, WILLI WEYER, INTERIOR MINISTER OF THE STATE OF NORTH RHINELAND-WESTPHALIA, TOLD REPORTERS HE COULD CONFIRM THAT SOLZHENITSYN HAD LEFT THE SOVIET UNION FOR WEST GERMANY.

NARI

UPI 02-13 07:56 AED

UPI011

(SOLZHENITSYN)

OWN (UPI) -- SOVIET AUTHOR ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN ARRIVED IN WEST GERMANY TODAY AND HEADED FOR THE HOME OF FELLOW NOBEL-PRIZE WINNER HEINRICH BOELL, THE GERMAN WRITER'S OFFICE SAID TODAY.

IN DUESSELDORF, WILLI WEYER, INTERIOR MINISTER OF THE STATE OF NORTH RHINELAND-WESTPHALIA, TOLD REPORTERS HE COULD CONFIRM THAT SOLZHENITSYN HAD LEFT THE SOVIET UNION FOR WEST GERMANY.

SOLZHENITSYN HAD BEEN ARRESTED AT HIS MOSCOW APARTMENT BY SOVIET POLICE TUESDAY EVENING AFTER IGNORING TWO SUMMONSES TO APPEAR AT A STATE PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE.

SOVIET POLICE TOLD HIS WIFE AND MOTHER-IN-LAW THAT HE WAS ARRESTED BUT GAVE NO INDICATION THAT THE AUTHOR WAS ABOUT TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY. IT WAS NOT IMMEDIATELY CLEAR WHETHER HE HAD BEEN OFFICIALLY DEPORTED.

DURING THE OFFICIAL SOVIET CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOLZHENITSYN OVER HIS LATEST BOOK, "THE GULAG ARCHIPELAGO," OFFICIAL SOVIET MEDIA HAD ACCUSED HIM OF BEING A TRAITOR TO SOVIET RUSSIA AND SUGGESTED HE LEAVE THE COUNTRY. THE AUTHOR HAD REFUSED TO LEAVE VOLUNTARILY.

THE BOOK WAS A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT OF STALINIST TERROR.

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UPI091

ADD SOLZHENITSYN, BONN  
 THE NEWS AGENCY DPA REPORTED FOELL SAID HE HAD INVITED  
 SOLZHENITSYN TO STAY WITH HIM, AND EXPECTED THE SOVIET WRITER TO  
 ARRIVE AT HIS COUNTRY HOME WEST OF COLOGNE THIS EVENING, THE NEWS  
 AGENCY DPA REPORTED.

UPI 02-13 01:09 PED

Alexander

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UPIC/ *Alexander*

*File* *Proteger*

ADD SOLZHEVITSYN, BOB  
 IN WASHINGTON, A WHITE HOUSE DEPUTY PRESS SECRETARY GERALD WARREN  
 DECLINED TO COMMENT. WARREN SAID HE COULD NOT COMMENT "UNDER THE  
 CIRCUMSTANCES," ADDING: "THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW IN REGARD FOR HUMAN  
 RIGHTS IS CLEAR."  
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*for*  
 Alexander  
 UPI119

ADD SOLZHENITSYN, FRANKFURT

A WEST GERMAN SPOKESMAN HAD ANNOUNCED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD AGREED TO ACCEPT THE NOBEL PRIZE WINNER WHEN RUSSIA INFORMED WEST GERMANY HE WAS COMING.

THE TASS STATEMENT IN MOSCOW SAID:

"BY THE DECREE OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET, A. I. SOLZHENITSYN HAS BEEN STRIPPED OF CITIZENSHIP OF THE USSR FOR PERFORMING SYSTEMATICALLY ACTIONS THAT ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH BEING A CITIZEN OF THE USSR AND DETRIMENTAL TO THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND WAS EXPELLED FROM THE SOVIET UNION ON FEBRUARY 13, 1974.

"SOLZHENITSYN'S FAMILY CAN JOIN HIM WHEN THEY DEEM IT NECESSARY." SOLZHENITSYN'S WIFE TOLD NEWSMEN TONIGHT IN MOSCOW SHE HAD NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THE OFFICIAL DECISION AND HAD NO COMMENT.

"I WILL NOT REALLY BELIEVE IT UNTIL I HEAR HIS VOICE TELLING ME IT IS TRUE," MRS. NATALYA SOLZHENITSYN TOLD NEWSMEN WHO CALLED AT HER APARTMENT IN CENTRAL MOSCOW. "IF HE CAN, I KNOW HE WILL CALL ME." HER EYES WERE RED. SHE LOOKED DISTRAUGHT AND SHE SAID, "WE ARE ALL VERY UPSET." BEHIND HER, HER MOTHER HELD ONE OF SOLZHENITSYN'S THREE SONS. THE BOY WAS CRYING.

"NOW HE IS IN A FREE COUNTRY HE WILL BE ABLE TO TELL EVERYTHING HIMSELF," SHE SAID. "I DON'T WANT TO SAY TOO MUCH. I KNOW YOU WILL UNDERSTAND. PLEASE FORGIVE ME."

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*of Zrub*  
*Lt*  
 Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn *not* is

UPI 103

(TASS)

DASHINGTON (UPI) -- A GROUP OF AMERICAN POLITICAL, JOURNALISTIC AND ARTISTIC FIGURES TODAY ARMED THEMSELVES WITH PICKET SIGNS TO PROTEST SOVIET HARASSMENT OF RUSSIAN WRITER ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN.

TWO MEMBERS OF THE GROUP DELIVERED THROUGH A TINY CRACK IN THE DOOR OF THE TASS OFFICE A STATEMENT CALLING UPON THE SOVIET UNION TO KEEP "HANDS OFF SOLZHENITSYN. LET HIM BE HEARD."

THE CONFRONTATION AT TASS FOLLOWED A NEWS CONFERENCE AND A BRIEF DEMONSTRATION AT THE NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING WHERE TASS HAS ITS OFFICE.

DEMONSTRATION LEADER BEN WATTENBERG, A PUBLIC OPINION ANALYST, ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE AD-HOC COMMITTEE FOR INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM, HARRY MOPHERSON JR., KNOCKED ON THE TASS DOOR SHORTLY AFTER NOON.

ONLY THE TWO OF THEM CAUGHT A GLIMPSE OF THE BESPECTACLED RUSSIAN WHO RESPONDED. THE BUREAU CHIEF IS VLADIMIR VASHEDCHENKO. THE TASS REPRESENTATIVE DECLINED TO OPEN THE DOOR, WHICH HAD A SECURITY CHAIN ON THE INSIDE. WATTENBERG SLIPPED THE STATEMENT THROUGH AND THE WHOLE THING WAS OVER.

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## SMITH HEMPSTONE

## A Solzhenitsyn for Mao?

As a consequence of publication in the West of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn's detailed account of mass torture and imprisonment under Stalin, "The Gulag Archipelago: 1918-1956," perhaps the most gullible of American liberals will finally be convinced that Soviet repression made that of the czars look positively gentle, and rivaled the most heinous acts of the Nazis.

But is doubtful if these ideological descendants of the goofy Sidney and Beatrice Webb will draw the single most important conclusion at which Solzhenitsyn arrives in his epic work: that the terror that took the lives of 20 million people (a conservative estimate) was not an aberration of Josef Stalin's paranoia but, an inherent and integral part of the Communist system seeded in the thoughts and deeds of Lenin.

For if you accept this conclusion of Solzhenitsyn's, then you are led inevitably to the conclusion that communism in China and North Vietnam rests upon an equally bloody base, and is perpetuated by the same studied program of terrorism. And where does this leave all those—the Ramsey Clarks, Jane Fondas and other starry-eyed folk—who have made the long march to Peking and Hanoi, sending back glowing accounts of social justice and flyless cities?

From the beginning, of course, those few who had experienced the Soviet terror and managed to escape

it told their stories. But they were branded as "extremists" or "reactionaries" by what Arthur Koestler (hailed by Solzhenitsyn) described as the West's "thousands of painters and writers and doctors and lawyers and debutantes chanting a diluted version of the Stalinist line" (does that echo events and attitudes in our recent history?).

Indeed, Solzhenitsyn's book only updates that of the British Kremlinologist, Robert Conquest, "The Great Terror," which was published in 1968. But Conquest lacks, chic in what are laughingly known as intellectual circles.

There is less documentation of the human cost of communism in China. But that affable old grandfather-type, Mao Tse-tung, writing in 1927, asserted that "to put it bluntly, it is necessary to create terror for a while in every rural area." On the basis of the evidence available, Prof. Richard L. Walker of the University of South Carolina, one of this country's leading China scholars, estimates that between 1927 and today, not less than 34 million (and perhaps as many as 64 million) Chinese have died as a consequence of the revolution there.

Ho Chi Minh, whose name toilers in Ivy League academic collectives so enjoyed chanting, began his career in 1925 by betraying the Sun Yat Sen of Vietnam, Phan Boi Chau, to the French secret police for 100,000 piastres. Ho, trained

under Stalin, kept his murder squads busy in the period from 1945 until 1958, when all opposition was effectively eliminated. The late Bernard Fall put the North Vietnamese death toll at more than 50,000. Hoang Van Chi, a leading nationalist, puts the figure at 10 times that number, a total with which Gerard Tongas, a Frenchman originally sympathetic to Ho, agrees.

As further evidence of the kindness of the North Vietnamese Communists, we have the evidence of thousands of murders and kidnappings of South Vietnamese civilians and the treatment of American prisoners of war.

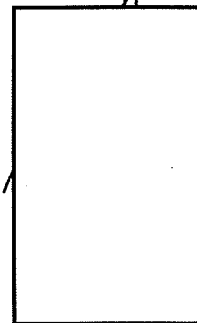
Yet the blindness of those who will not see persists. The memory of Ho, who would have known how to deal with them, is revered by students who fear the truth as much as a cold bath. Mao, apparently still busy eliminating those who disagree with him, continues to be idolized by those who would be affronted at the suggestion that they break bread with a common murderer, rather than an uncommon one.

Someday perhaps there will be a Chinese or a North Vietnamese Solzhenitsyn who will smuggle his works out to the West. Perhaps there will still be a New York Times to publish them. And perhaps then, at long last, those who waved Viet Cong flags in the streets of America and those who kowtowed to Mao may have the perception and decency to be ashamed.

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The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date 1-9-74

JAN 14 1974

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/WB

*Q1*  
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MOSCOW (UPI) -- ALEXANDER I. SOLZHENITSYN AND HIS SECOND WIFE WERE MARRIED A SECOND TIME FRIDAY IN A CHURCH CEREMONY, FRIENDS OF THE NOBEL PRIZE-WINNING AUTHOR SAID.

THE FRIENDS ALSO SAID AUTHORITIES HAVE YET TO TELL SOLZHENITSYN WHETHER HE CAN LIVE WITH HIS FAMILY IN HIS WIFE'S CENTRAL MOSCOW APARTMENT. OFFICIALS CONTROL RESIDENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION.

SOLZHENITSYN MARRIED NATALYA SVETLOVA, THE MOTHER OF HIS TWO SONS APRIL 20 IN A CIVIL CEREMONY, WHICH IS REQUIRED IN THE OFFICIALLY ATHEIST SOVIET UNION. SOLZHENITSYN, 54, IS A DEVOUT CHRISTIAN.

THE AUTHOR OF "ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVICH" AND "THE FIRST CIRCLE" HAS BEEN LIVING WITH THE ATTRACTIVE SCIENTIST, WHO IS IN HER THIRTIES, FOR THE PAST THREE YEARS. THEY HAVE TWO SONS, YERMOLAI AND IGNAT.

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NOT RECORDED  
145 MAY 18 1973

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55 MAY 22 1973

313

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. Bishop

DATE: 4-6-72

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: JACK ANDERSON BROADCAST  
SCHEDULED FOR WEEK  
BEGINNING 4-7-72

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Campbell \_\_\_\_\_  
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Cleveland \_\_\_\_\_  
Ponder \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

We have received a tape recording and transcript of captioned broadcast.

The only reference of interest to the Bureau concerns Anderson's attempt to establish that his government is harassing him in the same manner that the Soviets are harassing Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Nobel Prize-winning Soviet author. Anderson claims that "government gumshoes" have staked out his house, kept it under surveillance through binoculars, and surveilled Anderson wherever he goes. Anderson claims the license numbers on these cars have been traced to the FBI. He also claims that the FBI has prepared "a thick dossier" on him which is full of raw, unconfirmed allegations which has been turned over to the Justice Department and the White House. He says this campaign resembles the Soviet harassment of Solzhenitsyn "for the same crime of criticizing the government."

## OBSERVATIONS:

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DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/WB

It is obvious that the accuracy of Anderson's reporting has not improved. We have not, of course, had him under investigation, nor have any Bureau cars had him as the subject of surveillance. As usual, Anderson is grasping at anything, fact or fiction, to attract attention, this time, apparently, in the belief that he belongs to the same company as a writer of the stature of Solzhenitsyn.

## RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - M. A. Jones

CJH:dkg. (6)

58 APR 25 1972  
F-16

NOT RECORDED

167 APR 24 1972

10 APR 12 1972

CRIME RESEARCH

ORIGINAL FILED IN 94-50053-145

RE: ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

### New Expulsions

MOSCOW—Two Russian writers have been expelled from the Soviet Writers Union. They are Alexander Galich, 53, a playwright and composer of popular satirical balads, and Yevgeny Markin, who published two poems on novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn last month. Markin, who voted two years ago for the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Writers Union, has changed his mind and his two poems showed admiration for the outcast novelist. Galich is a friend of Solzhenitsyn.

Meanwhile, Solzhenitsyn has again denounced the Soviet literary establishment in a lament on the death

EX. APPROX 1918

last week of poet and editor Alexander Tvardovsky.

There are many ways and means to kill a poet, those chosen for Tvardovsky were to take away his favorite child, the journal for which he suffered," the lament said. Tvardovsky, who edited the liberal journal Novy Mir for 14 years, was forced to retire last year.

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Date 12-30-71

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JAN 11 1972

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# K.G.B. Says Local Police, Not It, Beat Up Friend of Solzhenitsyn

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Sept. 9 — Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn has received official notification that the assault on one of his friends at his summer cottage last month was "the mistake" of local policemen and that the security police were not involved.

According to associates of the 52-year-old novelist, a colonel in the State Security Committee (known by the Russian initials K.G.B.) telephoned him after his letter to the head of the K.G.B. and to Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin had been made public in the West.

In the letter the Nobel laureate complained of frequent harassment by the K.G.B. and said his patience was exhausted after an incident on Aug. 12, when the friend, Aleksandr Gorlov, was beaten when he found about a dozen men in Mr. Solzhenitsyn's summer house in Rozhdestvo, near Moscow.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn assumed that the men were K.G.B. agents by their manner and the fact that they threatened Mr. Gorlov with loss of his job if he told Mr. Solzhenitsyn about the incident.

## Staking Out the Dacha

About a week later the Colonel informed the novelist that his complaint had been investigated and that no agents had been involved. The colonel said, according to the novelist's friends, that the local police were staking out the dacha in the expectation that it would be burglarized and mistook Mr. Gorlov for a criminal.

Mr. Gorlov had been sent to the house by Mr. Solzhenitsyn to get a part for his car.

The friend said that Mr. Gorlov, invite d to the K.G.B. headquarters in Moscow, told the same story. He was rebuked for "exaggerating" the extent of his injuries.

In the letter Mr. Solzhenitsyn complained that Mr. Gorlov was dragged into the woods and beaten.

Both the novelist and Mr. Gorlov were told by the K.G.B. that if they wished to pursue the matter they should com-

plain to the police authorities, who fall under the ministry of the Interior.

The friends said that Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who did not believe the K.G.B. version, had declined to do so since that would mean he accepted it.

In addition, the friends said, he has been in poor health in recent weeks, having just recovered from an allergic reaction that caused extensive discomfort.

He is living, as he has in recent years, at the country house of Mstislav Rostropovich, the cellist, who became alarmed at Mr. Solzhenitsyn's health and called in several specialists to treat him. The friends related that, actually, a country doctor prescribed the correct treatment.

Mr. Rostropovich has not been permitted to travel abroad since he distributed a letter, printed abroad, criticizing the treatment of Mr. Solzhenitsyn, whose works are no longer printed here. The cellist conducted the Bolshoi Theater Or at the opening of the opera season last night.



Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn

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Miller, E.S.

The Washington Post  
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Date SEP 10 1971

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15 SEP 20 1971

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# Sick of K.G.B. Spying, Solzhenitsyn Says

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Aug. 14—Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, charging that Soviet security police have harassed him for years, has protested to the Government after an incident two days ago in which he said agents assaulted a friend who had caught them illegally searching the writer's country cottage.

The 52-year-old novelist, whose works have long been banned in the Soviet Union, sent an open letter yesterday to Yuri V. Andropov, head of the State Security Committee, better known by its Russian initials K.G.B., and a copy to Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, asking an investigation and exposure of the alleged incident.

Friends of the novelist distributed copies to Western newsmen today.

"For many years I have borne in silence the lawlessness of your employees," the writer said to Mr. Andropov, "the inspection of all my correspondence, the confiscation of half of it, the search of the homes

and the official and administrative persecution of my correspondents, the spying around my house, the shadowing of visitors, the tapping of telephone conversations, the drilling of holes in ceilings, the placing of recording apparatus in my city apartment and at my cottage, and a persistent slander campaign against me from speakers' platforms when they are offered to employees of your ministry.

"But after the raid yesterday, I will no longer be silent," he said.

He said that he had been ill in the city and had asked a friend of his, Aleksandr Gorlov, who holds the academic degree of candidate in engineering, to go to the cottage in the village of Rozhdestvo, in the Naro-Fominski district, some 40 miles

southwest of Moscow, and get a part for his car.

But it turned out the house was unlocked and voices could be heard from inside," Mr. Solzhenitsyn said. "Mr. Solzhenitsyn stepped inside and asked for the documents of the robbers." In the small house, where three or four can barely turn around, there were about ten of them in plain clothes.

"On command of the senior officer—to the woods with him! Silence!—they bound Gorlov, knocked him down, and dragged him face down into the woods and beat him viciously. Simultaneously, others were running by a circuitous route through the bushes to their car, carrying packages, papers, objects (perhaps also a part from the apparatus they had brought themselves).

"However, Gorlov fought back vigorously and yelled, summoning witnesses. Neighbors from other garden plots came running in response to his shouts and barred the robbers' way to the highway and demanded their documents. Then one of the robbers presented a red identification card and the neighbors let them pass.

"They led Gorlov, his face mutilated and his suit torn to ribbons, to the car. Fine methods you have, he said to those who led him. We are on an operation and we can do anything, he was told."

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said that the head of the group, a Captain Ivanov, took Gorlov to the local police station "where the officers greeted Ivanov with deference."

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126 SEP 9 1971

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Date AUG 15 1971

\* AS APPEARS IN PAPER

TOP CLIPPING

DATED

9/11/71

AND INITIALS

59 SEP 17 1971

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DATE 9/11/97 BY SP2 ALM/LWB

"Then, Ivanov asked Gorlov for a written explanation of what had happened," the account went on. "Although he had been fiercely beaten, Gorlov put in writing the purpose of his trip and all the circumstances. After that the senior robber demanded that Gorlov sign an oath of secrecy. Gorlov refused."

"Then they set off for Moscow, and on the ways the senior robber kept telling Gorlov, 'If Solzhenitsyn finds out

what took place at the Dacha, it will all be over with you.' "Your official career—Gorlov is a candidate of engineering sciences, has presented a doctoral dissertation for defense and works in the State Institute of Experimental Housing Design and Research—will go no further, you will not be able to defend any dissertation. This will affect your family and children and, if necessary, we will put you in prison."

"Those who know our way of life are aware that these threat can be realized. But Gorlov did not give in to them, refused to sign the pledge, and now he is threatened with reprisal."

"I demand from you, Citizen Minister, the public identification of the robbers, their punishment as criminals and an explanation of this incident."

"Otherwise I can only believe that you sent them," Mr. Solzhenitsyn said.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn, in the copy sent to Mr. Kosygin, said that "unless the Government of the U.S.S.R. had a part in these actions of Minister Andropov, I will expect an investigation."

Friends of Mr. Solzhenitsyn said that he continued to spend most of his time at the country home of Mstislav Rostropovich, the cellist, and visits the cottage involved in the incident only from time to time. He does not stay much in Ryazan, where he also has an apartment and small cottage, because he is separated from his wife.

the friends said that since the publication of the novel, "August 1914" abroad, the authorities had begun a campaign against Mr. Solzhenitsyn in lectures given at various institutions by members of the K. G. B. The thrust of the lectures is that he is anti-Soviet and immoral, with the implication that he should be either deported or arrested. There has been no printed comment on Mr. Solzhenitsyn for many months, and his name was not mentioned at the recent congress of Soviet writers.



Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn

Tolson ☒  
 Felt ☒  
 Sullivan ☒  
 Mohr ☒  
 Bishop ☒  
 Brennan, C.D. ☒  
 Callahan ☐  
 Casper ☐  
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 Walters ☐  
 Soyars ☐  
 Tele. Room ☐  
 Holmes ☐  
 Gandy ☐

## K.G.B. Spying and Brutality

The protest of Russia's most brilliant writer and Nobel-laureate, Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, about Soviet secret police harassment provides shocking confirmation that less has changed since Stalin's days than the world had hoped.

The complaint by Mr. Solzhenitsyn that his correspondence was censored and much of it confiscated, that his home was periodically searched, that his telephone was tapped and that microphones were secretly placed wherever he lived—all this sounds like a chapter out of Arthur Koestler.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn's open letters to Premier Kosygin and the head of the State Security Committee, the infamous K.G.B., were provoked by the brutal police treatment of a courageous friend, Aleksandr Gorlov, an engineer. Mr. Gorlov accidentally stumbled upon the K.G.B. snoopers at work in Solzhenitsyn's cabin. He was beaten up and threatened with penalties ranging from prison to the destruction of all hope for a normal career in his profession if he told Solzhenitsyn what he had seen.

Nevertheless, Mr. Gorlov reported what he had witnessed, and he may yet pay heavily for his honesty. His testimony provides a reminder to the world that the Soviet secret police still believes that Soviet citizens have no rights the K.G.B. is required to respect.

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Date AUG 16 1971

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126 SEP 9 1971

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 DATE 9/13/97 BY SP2 PLM/WB

15 1971

# Police Beat His Friend, Soviet Author Charges

MOSCOW (AP) — Nobel Prize author Alexander Solzhenitsyn has complained to the head of the Soviet secret police that its agents raided his country residence and badly beat a friend who surprised them there.

In a letter to Yuri V. Andropov, the state security minister, Solzhenitsyn said: "I demand from you, citizen minister, the public identification of all the robbers, their punishment as criminals, and an explanation of the incident."

"Otherwise, I can only believe that you sent them."

Solzhenitsyn, in official disgrace because his works are considered anti-Soviet by the regime, sent a copy of the letter to Premier Alexei N. Kosygin with a note saying: "If the government of the U.S.S.R. does not share in these actions of Minister Andropov, I expect an investigation."

Copies of the letter circulating in Moscow were dated Aug. 10.

The incident involving "my friend Alexander Gorlov," who surprised the agents, took place the previous day, the letter said.

"For many years," Solzhenitsyn wrote Andropov, "I have borne in silence the lawlessness of your employees. But after the raid yesterday, I will no longer be silent."

Taken sick and having to return to Moscow, the author said he sent his friend to his country house 25 miles southwest of Moscow "for an automobile part."

When Gorlov arrived, there was no lock on the house and "voices could be heard from inside," Solzhenitsyn added.

"Gorlov stepped inside and demanded the robbers' documents. In this small structure, where three or four can barely turn around, there were about 10 of them, in plain clothes."

"On the command of the senior officer — 'To the woods With Him' — They bound Gorlov, knocked him down, and dragged him face-down into the woods and beat him cruelly."

Despite the protests of neighbors who had heard Gorlov's cries: "they led Gorlov, his face mutilated and his suit torn to ribbons, to the car."

"Fine methods you have," Gorlov reportedly told the police.

"We are on an operation, and on an operation we can do anything," was the officer's alleged reply.

Taken to a police station, Solzhenitsyn said Gorlov was asked to sign an oath of secrecy about the incident, and was threatened that "if Solzhenitsyn finds out about what took place... it's all over for you. Your official career will go no farther."

Gorlov is a doctoral candidate.

"Those who know our way of life, know the full feasibility of these threats," Solzhenitsyn wrote. "But Gorlov did not give in to them, refused to sign the pledge and now is threatened with reprisals."

Enjoying the support of Nikita S. Khrushchev, Solzhenitsyn has incurred official wrath for his works since Khrushchev fell.

Expelled from the Writers' Union, and thus deprived of a livelihood in Russia, Solzhenitsyn lives most of the time in a small house on the property of cellist M. Stislav Rostropovich, who has been forbidden to travel abroad because of his support for the author.

Solzhenitsyn was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1970, but was prohibited from accepting it. The official press describes the writer, who has just published a work called "August 1914," as "an internal emigre."

The novelist's best known works abroad are "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," "Cancer Ward" and "First Circle."



ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN

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Date AUG 15 1971

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## Solzhenitsyn Defended By Famed Soviet Cellist

MOSCOW (UPI) — Renowned cellist Mstislav L. Rostropovich today defended novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn against Soviet critics of Solzhenitsyn's Nobel Prize for literature.

Rostropovich, 43, considered by many to be one of the world's greatest cellists, wrote an open letter to the Soviet newspapers Pravda, Izvestia, Literaturnaya Gazeta (literary gazette) and Sovetskaya Kultura (Soviet culture). The letter was made available to Western correspondents in Moscow.

The cellist is the most imposing Soviet personality to come to Solzhenitsyn's defense since he was awarded the prize. The novelist is living in Rostropovich's country home near Moscow, working on a new novel.

"Every man must have the

right to think fearlessly and independently and to speak up about what is known to him," Rostropovich wrote.

He ridiculed the "anonymous" and "incompetent" makers of "opinions" censuring Soviet writers, artists and composers, and recalled embarrassing episodes of the past when great artists were muzzled.

Rostropovich criticized conservative Soviet writer Mikhail Sholokhov, a Nobel Prize winner and author of "Quiet Flows the Don." Sholokhov accepted the prize that had been attacked as a "dirty political game" when it was given to Boris Pasternak, Rostropovich said.

"It turns out that we gratefully accept the Nobel Prize at one time, and not at another time," he said.

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) 43  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

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*[Faint, mostly illegible text from a document scan. Some visible words include: "ALFRED L. HOLZNER", "THE LIFE OF THE", "THE FIRST STAGE", "THE POLITICAL IMPLICATION"]*

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## Solzhenitsyn, nobel prize-winner

IN every country in the world except the Soviet Union — the winning of the Nobel Prize for literature by a local citizen is cause for pride and satisfaction.

In Russia, however, it's usually a time of embarrassment and chagrin. The reason is perfectly understandable. A great writer's works are often marked by truth, insight, clarity and courage, and these qualities upset the narrow-minded, bigoted bureaucrats who run the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately for their peace of mind, the streak of Russian literary genius is so strong that it has been able to survive a half-century of repressive, bungling rule. Thus the Swedish Academy of Letters has awarded the 1970 Nobel Prize to Alexander I. Solzhenitsyn, and the Kremlin has a problem.

Many people regard Mr. Solzhenitsyn as the greatest living Russian writer. Only his first short novel, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich," a searing view of life in a Stalin-era prison camp, has been published in his homeland. His two later works, "Cancer Ward" and "The First Circle," which assail Stalin and the authoritarianism of Soviet life, were smuggled abroad for publication.

Because he refused to denounce his foreign publishers and called for an end to Soviet literary censorship, Mr. Solzhenitsyn has been expelled from the Union of Writers. This prevents him from lecturing, teaching or publishing his works. He has also been threatened with exile.

Once before, in 1958, the Kremlin suffered the "disgrace" of having an out-of-favor writer win the Nobel Prize. It promptly forced Boris Pasternak, the poet and translator who wrote "Dr. Zhivago," to refuse the award. It cowed him with threats of banishment from the Russia he loved and then hounded him to his grave.

In Mr. Solzhenitsyn, the Kremlin's secret policemen and literary vigilantes have an infinitely tougher victim than the gentle, elderly Pasternak. At 52 Mr. Solzhenitsyn has survived World War II combat, years in Siberian concentration camps, and a bout with cancer.

It will be instructive to see how the police state will handle this talented and fearless man. Last year, instead of keeping silent after his expulsion from the writers' union, he denounced the Soviet Union as a "sick society." For a system that persecutes its own best writers, that was an understatement.

AKA ALEX

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**'QUICK, ALEX, HIDE—YOU'VE JUST WON  
 THE NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE.'**



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SOLZHENITSYN 10-2 NY

RE: ICHER

SOLZHENITSYN (1918) -- ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF A LITIGANT  
 SOLZHENITSYN ONLY WAS ANOTHER WORKING MAN FOR THE SOVIET  
 LITERARY OUTCAST DESPITE HIS LIST OF THE 1970 NOVELS  
 WRITTEN FOR LITERATURE.

SOLZHENITSYN, OFFICIALLY DISGRACED AT HOME FOR  
 EXPOSING  
 STALINIST EVILS IN SOVIET SOCIETY, WORKED FEVERISHLY TO  
 TO COMPLETE ANOTHER NOVEL, "AUGUST," BEFORE HIS PLANNED  
 TO STOCKHOLM TO ACCEPT THE AWARD FROM THE SWEDISH ACADEMY OF  
 LETTERS.

THE 51-YEAR-OLD AUTHOR WAS A VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN LITERATURE  
 READER BEFORE THE 1968 APPEARANCE OF HIS SHORT STORY, "ONE  
 DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN RENISOVICH," PROPELLED HIM TO FAME.  
 HIS LATER NOVELS, "THE CANCER WARD" AND "THE FIRST CIRCLE,"  
 BUILT DOWN HIS REPUTATION.  
 BUT NEVER WERE PUBLISHED IN RUSSIA.

STENIS SAID SOLZHENITSYN RECEIVED THE NEWS OF THE AWARD  
 CALMLY THURSDAY. "HE TOOK IT AS SOMETHING THAT GOT HIS USUAL  
 SCHEDULE OUT OF ORDER," ONE FRIEND SAID.

"THEREFORE, HE DECIDED TO WORK THROUGH THE NIGHT."  
 A SMALL CELEBRATION WAS HELD THURSDAY EVENING IN A  
 HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF "MUCHOVA NEAR MOSCOW WHERE  
 SOLZHENITSYN LIVES WITH HIS WIFE, NATALIA ALEXANDRA. FRIENDS  
 VISITED SOLZHENITSYN BUT THE AUTHOR DRANK ONLY ONE SHOT OF  
 LIQUOR.

"I WAITED FOR THREE YEARS, AND HE WENT THAT THIS YEAR  
 I COULD GET IT (THE AWARD)," A FRIEND SAID.

OTHER FRIENDS SAID THEY EXPECTED SOLZHENITSYN TO TRAVEL TO  
 STOCKHOLM TO RECEIVE THE AWARD REGARDLESS OF THE POSSIBLE  
 DISCRIMINATIONS. "THIS IS A MAN OF STEEL," ONE SAID. IF HE SAID  
 HE WOULD GO THEN HE WOULD GO. HE IS NOT "CAUTERIZED."

THE REFERENCE WAS TO BORIS PASTERNAK WHO WAS AWARDED THE  
 NOBEL PRIZE IN 1958 FOR HIS NOVEL "DOCTOR ZHIVAGO" AND AT FIRST  
 ACCEPTED THE PRIZE BUT LATER REJECTED IT WHEN PURSUED BY THE  
 LITERARY ESTABLISHMENT.

SOLZHENITSYN FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES IS AN OUTLAW IN  
 RUSSIA. HE HAS BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE SOVIET UNION FOR  
 WRITING THE "BLACK SIDE" OF SOVIET REALITY. THE UNION  
 OF WRITERS

QUIET ACTIVITY AND TOLD HIM HE WOULD BE IN THE  
 STYLE OF A NOVEL.

U.S. COMMAND IN VIETNAM SAID THE ARVN'S "MOTOR" FORCE  
 OF ROADS ON THE HO CHI MINH TRAIL IN MARCH  
 AN ATTEMPT TO BLOCK PASSING OF SUPPLIES TO  
 SUPPLIES TO FIGHTING FORCES IN VIETNAM AND  
 VIETNAM TRUCKS WERE A BADLY DAMAGED AS IS THE  
 ROAD WITHA THREE AND KILLED THREE VIETNAMESE  
 WITH OTHERS AND KILLED A FEW MORE. THE  
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## The Nobel Award to Solzhenitsyn

In 1945, while a soldier on duty in Germany, Alexander Solzhenitsyn was arrested for allegedly defaming the dictator Stalin in personal letters. He was packed away for eight years in concentration camps and exiled in Siberia for three or four years more. Allowed to resume a life thus cruelly broken, he took up a writing career but did not reach print until 1962. Nikita Khrushchev saw in his work a useful cathartic element and let him publish "One Day in the Life of Denisovich," a devastating portrayal of camp life (excerpts are printed elsewhere on this page today). This was the first explicit public acknowledgement of the terrible atrocity which the Communist Party had committed on the Soviet people — incarcerating millions, murdering millions more — and it created a sensation. So much so, in fact, that neither Khrushchev nor his successors allowed Solzhenitsyn to publish anything of note in Russia again. They realized too well the profoundly subversive effect which the telling of the truth about the Communist Party would have upon their continuing claim to rule. Instead, they chose to censor Solzhenitsyn and to persecute him — especially after two other

of his novels, "The Cancer Ward" and "The First Circle," were published abroad (without his authorization). In the Party's eyes, it was better to alienate honest Russians and draw world scorn than to let loose inside the Soviet Union the truths Solzhenitsyn had to tell.

The award of the Nobel prize for literature to Solzhenitsyn is entirely merited by the majesty of his art. Independent critics everywhere have acclaimed his penetration into the core of human tragedy, specifically the Russian tragedy, and his mastery of the naturalistic form. He is often and fairly put in the pantheon of Russia's great 19th century writers. The Nobel award doubtless will result in further acts of vengeance and malice toward him on the part of the Kremlin. Solzhenitsyn, however, long ago made his choice; his spirit is beyond breaking. For Solzhenitsyn himself is, as he wrote of the heroine of his short story, "Matryona's Home":

"... that righteous one without whom, as the proverb says, no village can stand.

"Nor any city.

"Nor our whole land."

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## Nobel Award 36

The 1970 Nobel Laureate in literature, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, is one of the recognized giants of the contemporary world of letters, a master of the Russian language in the great tradition that runs from Pushkin through Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy to Pasternak. As the Nobel Prize Committee noted, there is an "ethical force" in his writing, a compassion for suffering humanity that has permitted his work to transcend the limits of his personal experience and to shed new light on the human condition.

It is to Nikita Khrushchev's credit that a decade ago he permitted the publication of Solzhenitsyn's first masterly novel, *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. That moving and unforgettable account of the horrors of a Soviet slave labor camp established Solzhenitsyn's reputation at home and abroad almost overnight. But more recently Khrushchev's successors have deemed it politically necessary partially to rehabilitate Joseph Stalin. That infamous decision brought in its wake a shameful effort to silence and disgrace Solzhenitsyn in his native land. It is this tragic background which explains why Solzhenitsyn's later superb novels, *The Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*, have been banned in the Soviet Union while Solzhenitsyn himself has been proclaimed a pariah unworthy even of membership in the Union of Soviet Writers.

In the late 1950's, when Boris Pasternak won the Nobel Prize for *Dr. Zhivago*, the Soviet regime unleashed a campaign of vilification against Pasternak that forced him to renounce the award. Solzhenitsyn has already announced that he wishes to accept the prize and to travel abroad to receive it. However the Kremlin now reacts, the Nobel Committee has given notable recognition to the fact that Alexander Solzhenitsyn is the outstanding living writer in the Russian language and surely one of the greatest authors of this generation.

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# Solzhenitsyn Wins Nobel Writing Prize

By Howard Simons

Washington Post Staff Writer

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, acclaimed by many in the West as Russia's greatest living writer, was awarded the Nobel prize for literature yesterday.

In the Soviet Union, Solzhenitsyn's books are banned; he and his wife are unemployed, and a year ago he was expelled from his local branch of the Soviet Writer's Union for "conduct unworthy of a Soviet writer."

In the West, Solzhenitsyn's novels—especially "The First Circle" and "Cancer Ward"—are best sellers; he has enormous royalties in escrow, and he is often hailed as a novelist on a par with Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy.

Yesterday, the 51-year-old Solzhenitsyn told Western reporters: "I'm grateful for the decision. I accept the prize. I intend to go and receive it personally on the traditional day insofar as this will depend on me."

But whether Soviet authorities will allow Solzhenitsyn to travel to Stockholm to accept the \$78,000 prize is conjectural. Speculation is that if Solzhenitsyn is allowed to go it would be with an understanding that he cannot return to Russia; a condition his friends say Solzhenitsyn will not accept. He would rather stay in Russia. The Soviet government had no comment yesterday.

Solzhenitsyn's prize is the third for literature awarded to a Russian writer over the last dozen years.

Boris Pasternak, who like Solzhenitsyn criticized Soviet society, received the award in 1958, but was forced by Soviet authorities to decline it. The prize still is credited to the late novelist and poet.

In 1965, the prize was given to Mikhail Sholokov, who not only writes warmly of Soviet society, but also has attacked Solzhenitsyn.

Sholokov's attack came last year after Solzhenitsyn had been thrown out of his local writer's union for having made a stinging attack on "our seriously sick society."

Addressing himself then to other writers, Solzhenitsyn wrote:

"Your obese articles crawl about your mindless works move flabbily—but there are no arguments, only voting and administration. Once the higher levels have decided not to print you—crush yourself, choke yourself, don't exist! Don't let anyone read you!"

In Solzhenitsyn's case, it is the authorities who will not let Russians read Solzhenitsyn. This was not always the case. At the height of Premier Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign Solzhenitsyn capitulated to fame in and out of Russia when the prestigious Soviet literary journal Novy Mir published his novelette, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch."

Now his books are banned officially and read only by those Russians who can get them through a kind of underground self-publishing effort. But in the West, all three of his novels have been published to wide critical acclaim.

Moreover, on Oct. 13, "A Play by Alexander Solzhenitsyn" will have its world stage premiere in Minneapolis. And "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch" is being made into a film starring Tom Courtenay.

Solzhenitsyn's major works are both autobiographical and socio-biographical. Though fiction, they comprise the best contemporaneous reporting of what life was like when Stalin ruled the Soviet Union.

The autobiography is thinly disguised.

Example—the hero of Ivan Denisovitch spent 3,653 days in a Siberian labor camp for being indiscreet about Stalin. Solzhenitsyn, a decorated artillery captain in World War II, was sentenced to eight years in Soviet detention camps in the northern Steppes for being indiscreet about Stalin.

Example—One of the chief characters in "Cancer Ward" has skin cancer. Solzhenitsyn spent time in a Tashkent hos-

pital being treated for skin cancer.

Example—One of the protagonists in "The First Circle," Nerzhin, is an ex-captain and a mathematician working in a secret police prison for scientific intellectuals. Ex-captain Solzhenitsyn, educated as a mathematician, spent three years in a secret police prison cum research institute.

The chronicle of Stalin's Russia is thinly disguised, too. What, in effect, Solzhenitsyn describes is the hell of the intellectual under Stalin. As critic V. S. Pritchett put it a few years ago in The New York Review of Books, the prisoners in "The First Circle" (of Dante's Hell) are damned, as are the victims in "Cancer Ward." But their eternal damnation "is a kind of freedom."

The suggestion is that the prisoners and the cancer victims find a kind of joy in their suffering and adapt to their fate and this, in sum, is what Russian life is really like.

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In 1967, Solzhenitsyn wrote an open letter to the Fourth Congress of Soviet Writers. He said:  
"Literature that is not the breath of contemporary society, that dares not to transmit the pains and fears of that society, that does not warn in time against threatening moral and social dangers—such literature does not deserve the name of literature; it is only a facade."



ALEXANDER  
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Date 2/13/74

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FROM: Director, FBI

## FIELD DISSEMINATION

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RUEADWW/ ☐ White House Situation Room  
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ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN

Foreign Liaison Unit

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TO DIRECTOR

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AT THIS TIME

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-117  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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105-177865-6  
FEB 15 1974

5 *[Redacted area]*

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END

HOLD

MRF BI FBI HDQS

2 Xerox cc's made

For relay to

STATE

2-13-74 JLT

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 Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

UPI103  
 (TASS)

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- A GROUP OF AMERICAN POLITICAL, JOURNALISTIC AND ARTISTIC FIGURES TODAY ARMED THEMSELVES WITH PICKED SIGNS TO PROTEST SOVIET HARASSMENT OF RUSSIAN WRITER ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN. TWO MEMBERS OF THE GROUP DELIVERED THROUGH A TINY CRACK IN THE DOOR OF THE TASS OFFICE A STATEMENT CALLING UPON THE SOVIET UNION TO KEEP "HANDS OFF SOLZHENITSYN. LET HIM BE HEARD."

THE CONFRONTATION AT TASS FOLLOWED A NEWS CONFERENCE AND A BRIEF DEMONSTRATION AT THE NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING WHERE TASS HAS ITS OFFICE.

DEMONSTRATION LEADER BEN WATTENBERG, A PUBLIC OPINION ANALYST, ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER MEMBER OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE FOR INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM, HARRY MCPHERSON JR., KNOCKED ON THE TASS DOOR SHORTLY AFTER NOON.

ONLY THE TWO OF THEM CAUGHT A GLIMPSE OF THE RESPECTACLED RUSSIAN WHO RESPONDED. THE BUREAU CHIEF IS VLADIMIR VASHEDCHENKO. THE TASS REPRESENTATIVE DECLINED TO OPEN THE DOOR, WHICH HAD A SECURITY CHAIN ON THE INSIDE. WATTENBERG SLIPPED THE STATEMENT THROUGH AND THE WHOLE THING WAS OVER.

UPI 01-22 02:19 PED

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105-177865-A  
 105-257516-A

JAN 30 1974

WASHINGTON CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

~~SECRET~~

SAC, New York (65-14825) 105-17786 5

2/1/74

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Director, FBI

1 - Mr. C. G. Sullivan

b1

1 - Mr. F. J. Cassidy

1 -

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b3 NSA Act of 1947 and CIA Act of 1949

Enclosed for New York are six copies, for  
San Francisco two copies, and for WFO four copies of a

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Enclosures - 6

(U)

2 - San Francisco (65-3957) (Enclosures - 2)

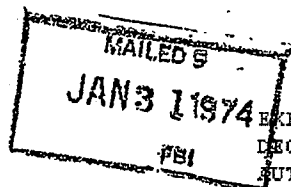
2 - WFO (65-5000) (Enclosures - 4)

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9/18/97  
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REASON: 1.5 (C)  
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Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

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DECLASSIFICATION

AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)

DATE 12-04-2008

per OGA letter dated 12/08/2008.

FEB 22 1974

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~SECRET~~

ORIGINAL FILED

F B I

Date: 6/4/75

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

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Director Sec'y	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (105-133612) (RUC)

CHANGED

ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN

IS - R

(OO: )

SF

Title marked "Changed" as correct middle initial for subject is I, and to delete the word "GROUP" from title.

Reference is made to Bureau routing slip dated 6/3/75 and captioned as follows: "ALEKSANDR T. SOLZHENITSYN, IS - R (GROUP)".

It is noted by WFO that captioned subject is no longer a Soviet citizen, and hence would not fall within the purview of Section 105-F, MOI, pages 17 and 18, as indicated in referenced communication.

Additionally, captioned subject is an internationally prominent individual, and hence investigation of him by the Bureau might have undesirable repercussions.

Hence, recipient offices are requested to limit coverage of SOLZHENITSYN to established sources of your divisions, and to advise the Bureau of any information developed of interest re SOLZHENITSYN in a form suitable for dissemination, UACB.

WFO is conducting further investigation re captioned subject as he will not be travelling in this division, and is considering instant matter as .

- 2- Bureau  
2- Anchorage  
2- New York  
2- San Francisco  
1- WFO  
KW:th  
(9)

REC-5 EX-101 105-177865-7  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2ALM/WB

JUN 6 1975

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1108  
57 JUN 13 1975  
Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

# Crackdown on Dissidents Charged by Solzhenitsyn

ZURICH. (AP)—Alexander Solzhenitsyn charged today that Soviet authorities have embarked on a neo-Stalinist strategy aimed at cutting the links of all Russian dissidents to the outside world.

The exiled Nobel prize-winning writer said the new approach was evidence of a "basic change" in the Soviet Union following the "successful" Valdivostok summit meeting between Communist party chief Leonid Brezhnev and President Ford.

correspondence between dissidents and contacts abroad had been stopped; dissidents no longer could make international telephone calls, and calls reaching them from abroad were jammed.

In addition, people who arrive from Soviet provinces say that Soviet citizens who had friendly conversations with foreigners during exhibitions were beaten up on the spot so that the public was drawing a lesson, he said in a letter to the Zurich newspaper.

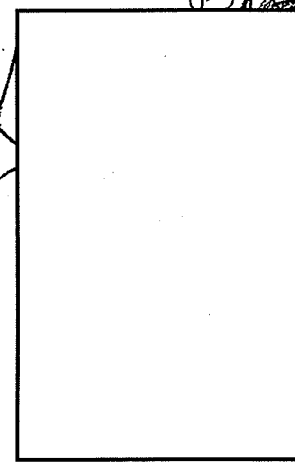
Solzhenitsyn said the change seemingly was connected with the replacement of Pyotr N. Demichev as the Communist party central committee's secretary for agitation and propaganda. His appointment as minister of culture was "the admission of failure of a strategy" which for a decade included a "quarter opening" in the campaign against dissidents, the author said.

Now, the Soviet Union is to be returned to its "natural" Stalinist status of isolation, Solzhenitsyn said. (The government) will have the possibility of settling accounts with whoever is chosen without anyone learning about it. In this manner they hope to achieve the main condition for external detente, that is by restoration of complete silence domestically.

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Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

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The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
Washington Star-News A3  
Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
The Los Angeles Times \_\_\_\_\_

Date 1-15-75

105-177865-A-  
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NOT RECORDED  
136 FEB 13 1975

84 FEB 13 1975

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Records Section

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☐ Service Unit, 4654 JEH-FBI Bldg.  
☐ Forward to File Review  
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Supervisor Room Ext.

## Type of References Requested:

☐ Regular Request (Analytical Search)  
☒ All References (Subversive & Nonsubversive)  
☐ Subversive References Only  
☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
☐ Main \_\_\_\_\_ References Only

## Type of Search Requested:

☐ Restricted to Locality of \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

Subject Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr  
 Birthdate & Place \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 Localities DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/WB  
 R# \_\_\_\_\_ Date 9/16 Searcher Initials 513  
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ND 105-273411-3 enc p# 4 und 110-75  
ND 105-273411-3 enc p# 4  
mk 105-177865  
ND 64-175-268-233  
ND 105-113423-22  
ND 109-10-263-1287  
Aleksandr Tsayevich  
Alexandra  
Alex  
Alexander  
Solzhenitsyn, (aw)  
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Records Section

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☐ Nonsubversive References Only  
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☐ Exact Name Only (On the Nose)  
☐ Buildup ☐ Variations

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 11 1975

TELETYPE

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Director Sec'y \_\_\_\_\_

NR016 PD CODE

9:28PM NITEL JUNE 10 1975 JHB

TO: DIRECTOR ATTENTION: INTD

WFO

SEATTLE

FROM: PORTLAND (105-4691) (P)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN, IS-R, INFORMATION CONCERNING

A SOURCE WHO IS IN A POSITION TO HAVE SUCH INFORMATION BUT WITH WHOM CONTACT HAS BEEN INSUFFICIENT TO DETERMINE THE RELIABILITY OF THAT INFORMATION ADVISED ON JUNE 10, 1975, THAT THE NOTED SOVIET AUTHOR-IN-EXILE, ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN [REDACTED] ARE CURRENTLY GUESTS AT THE ST. BENEDICTINE MT. ANGEL ABBEY, MT. ANGEL, OREGON. THE SOURCE STATED SOLZHENITSYN EXPECTS TO REMAIN AT THE ABBEY FOR APPROXIMATELY A WEEK. HE CONTINUED THAT SOLZHENITSYN IS ANXIOUS TO KEEP HIS VISIT AS CONFIDENTIAL AS POSSIBLE AND PLANS TO MAKE NO PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS OR APPEARANCES. SOLZHENITSYN HAS IN FACT INDICATED TO THE SOURCE THAT HE FEARS THE KGB AND IS APPREHENSIVE ABOUT HIS SAFETY. THE SOURCE HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF SOLZHENITSYN'S PLANS FOLLOWING HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE ABBEY NEXT WEEK.

CLASSIFIED BY 4208, XGDS2, INDEFINITE.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 ALM/WB  
ON 9/18/97  
#388499

53 JUN 17 1975 105-177865

5 JUN 12 1975

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PAGE TWO

PD 105-4691

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ADMINISTRATIVE:

CLASSIFIED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ IN ORDER TO PROTECT IDENTITY OF  
SOURCE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (BY REQUEST).

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PORTLAND HAD NO PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF SUBJECT'S PRESENCE IN THE UNITED STATES AND HAS RECEIVED NO INFORMATION TO INDICATE EFFORT BEING MADE BY SOVIET INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (SIS) TO HARM OR INTERFERE WITH SUBJECT.

COPIES BEING FURNISHED SEATTLE FOR INFORMATION AND WFO IN EVENT ANY INFORMATION IS RECEIVED FROM U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE RE SUBJECT'S TRAVEL IN UNITED STATES.

SUBJECT'S CONCERN FOR HIS SAFETY MAY STEM IN PART FROM PROJECTED EXTENSIVE SOVIET PRESENCE IN SEATTLE AND VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON, AND PORTLAND, OREGON AREAS IN CONNECTION WITH CASE ENTITLED, "SOVIET-U. S. MEMORIAL, VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON, JUNE, 1975; IS-R," PORTLAND FILE 105-4343, BUREAU FILE 105-277956. 117

PORTLAND CONDUCTING NO ACTIVE INVESTIGATION OF SUBJECT BUT WILL FURNISH PERTINENT INFORMATION AS IT IS RECEIVED FROM SOURCES.

END

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
Immigration and Naturalization Service  
Washington, D.C.

FILE: A20 700 581

DATE: June 11, 1975

IN RE: Alexander T. SOLZHENITZYN

APPLICATION: Temporary admission to the United States pursuant to  
section 212(d) (3) ( A ), Immigration and Nationality Act

The applicant(s) has (have) been found by a ☒ consular officer  
to be ineligible to receive a nonimmigrant  
☐ immigration officer

visa under Section(s) 212(a) (28) of the Act.

Nationality: <b>USSR</b>	Date and Country of Birth: <b>12/11/18 USSR</b>	Country of Residence: <b>Switzerland</b>
Occupation: <b>Writer</b>	Employer:	
Purpose in seeking entry into United States and destination: <b>To visit Kenay, Alaska and the Hoover Institute, Stanford, California.</b>		
Plans regarding travel to United States and period of temporary stay: <b>Will enter several times beginning in May or June 1975 for a period totaling four months.</b>		
Basis for favorable action: <b>The Department of State recommends subject's admission in the public interest.</b>		

ORDER: It is ordered that the application be granted for the above indicated purpose, subject to revocation at any time, valid as set forth below.

ENTRY: Multiple, the first in May or June 1975

PERIOD OF TEMPORARY STAY: For four months on the condition that he engage solely in the activities indicated above and that no extension of stay be authorized without prior approval of the District Director, Washington, D.C.

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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105-177865-  
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, APPLICATIONS  
NOT RECORDED

Form I-194  
(Rev. 6-1-73) N°

3 JUN 17 1975

105-177865  
Director, FBI



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : *JWD/M* SAC, PORTLAND (105-4691) (C)

SUBJECT: ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN  
IS - R (INFORMATION CONCERNING)

DATE: 6/23/75

Re Portland teletype to the Bureau, 6/10/75.

The letter and LHM have been classified ~~confidential~~ in order to protect the identity of the knowledgeable source utilized in the LHM.

Enclosed for the Bureau are six copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above which contains information relating to the subject's brief stay in Mt. Angel, Oregon. The Bureau may wish to furnish a copy of the LHM to Legat, Ottawa, for dissemination to interested Canadian authorities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 4208  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification, Indefinite

8-Bureau (Encl. 6) (AM) (RM)  
(1-Legat Ottawa)  
1-Portland

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JUN 26 1975

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 ALM/WB  
ON 9/18/97



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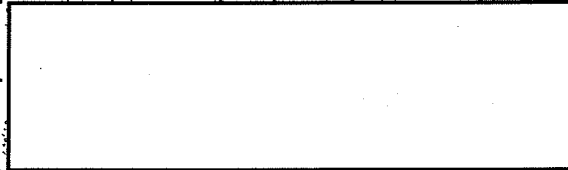
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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PD 105-4691

NONSYMBOL SOURCE ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE

Source

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(by request)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Portland, Oregon

June 23, 1975

ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN

A confidential source who is in a position to have such information but with whom contact has been insufficient to determine the reliability of that information, advised on June 10, 1975, that the noted Soviet author-in-exile Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn [redacted] were as of that date guests at the St. Benedictine, Mt. Angel Abbey, Mt. Angel, Oregon. The source stated that Solzhenitsyn expected to remain at the Abbey for approximately a week and was anxious to keep his visit as confidential as possible and planned to make no public announcements or appearances. According to the source, Solzhenitsyn had indicated that he feared the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB) and was apprehensive about his safety.

On June 16, 1975, the same source advised that Solzhenitsyn had departed the Portland, Oregon, area by bus on June 15, 1975, and was destined for an "Old Believer" community which is situated near Lake LaBiche, above Edmonton, Canada. Solzhenitsyn planned to also visit another "Old Believer" community which has been in existence in Canada for about forty years and which is situated at Fairview, near Peace River, Canada.

The source stated that [redacted] had left Portland, Oregon, to return to Switzerland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 4208  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification, Indefinite

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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ON 9/18/97

105-177865-11  
ENCLOSURE

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ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN

The source continued that Solzhenitsyn intends to remain in Canada indefinitely. He related that Solzhenitsyn is searching for an "Old Believer" community which he can join, and where he might raise his three sons according to the old Russian traditions and spiritual way of life which are typical of the "Old Believer" sect. He added that if Solzhenitsyn is unable to find a suitable community in Canada for settlement, he may consider returning permanently to the Mt. Angel, Oregon, area.

-2\*-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Office of Security

DATE: August 4, 1975

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MEMORANDUM

*ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN*

TO : Director,  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. 20535  
Attention:

FROM : Chief, Division of Investigations  
Office of Security

SUBJECT : Correspondence to Secretary Kissinger

The attached material, which is described below, is transmitted  
for your information and retention.

Attachment: Copy of letter to Secretary Kissinger dated July 17,  
1975, from  The original of this letter  
has been furnished to the Secret Service.

105 - 177 865 -  
NOT RECORDED  
26 SEP 4 1975

22 AUG 12 1975

22- ENCLOSURE  
ENCLOSURE

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DATE 2/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/MB

58 SEP 5 1975

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-424-255

WASHINGTON D.C.

EARL SIR:

I HAVE JUST READ IN THE NEWS THIS EVENING ABOUT YOUR COMMENTS  
RELATIVE TO THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY EXILED SOVIET WRITER ALEXANDER  
SOLZHENITSYN. I BELIEVE THAT YOUR RECOMMENDATION TO PRESIDENT FORD  
NOT TO MEET WITH MR. SOLZHENITSYN IS AN INSULT TO THIS GREAT MAN,  
NOBEL PRIZE WINNER, SINCE WHEN HAVE WE IN AMERICA CHANGED OUR  
POLICY OF GOODWILL AND FRIENDSHIP TO A MAN OF HIS CALIBER? BELIEVE  
ME, MR. KISSINGER, YOU ARE NOT TRULY REPRESENTING THE FEELINGS  
OF THE GRASS ROOT AMERICAN PEOPLE WHEN YOU ADVISE OUR PRESIDENT  
STUPIDLY. IF ANYONE KNOWS AND UNDERSTANDS COMMUNISM, MR.  
SOLZHENITSYN OUGHT TO, HE HAS LIVED AND SUFFERED UNDER ITS  
TYRANNIES AND INJUSTICES. PERHAPS YOU SHOULD READ AND DIGEST  
SOME OF WHAT HE HAS SAID RECENTLY. AS FOR YOUR STATEMENT,  
BUT I BELIEVE THAT IF HIS VIEWS BECAME THE NATIONAL POLICY OF  
THE UNITED STATES WE WOULD BE CONFRONTED WITH CONSIDERABLE THREAT  
OF MILITARY CONFLICT.... I BELIEVE THAT THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS VIEWS  
WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OR TO THE WORLD."  
I HAVE NEWS FOR YOU, MR. KISSINGER, MORE AMERICAN PEOPLE BELIEVE  
HIM BEFORE THEY WILL BELIEVE YOU!! HIS VIEWS ARE MORE  
ACCEPTABLE THAN YOURS! WHY? BECAUSE HE SPEAKS KNOWLEDGEBLY  
FROM EXPERIENCE WHICH OBVIOUSLY YOU DON'T HAVE. AND AS FOR  
THE REST OF THE WORLD'S VIEWS, I COULDN'T CARE - I'M ONLY  
INTERESTED IN WHAT'S BEST FOR AMERICA AND ALL YOU SEEM  
TO BE DOING IS AGAINST AMERICA'S BEST INTERESTS, YOU  
AND ELLSWORTH BUNKER SIGNING AN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE  
LITERALLY GIVING AWAY THE PANAMA CANAL WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL  
AUTHORITY, LET ALONE EVEN TELLING THEM ABOUT IT, IS A  
PERFECT EXAMPLE OF WHAT I MEAN. ARE YOU FOR AMERICA,  
MR. KISSINGER, OR AGAINST IT? A LOT OF AMERICANS ARE  
BEGINNING TO WONDER. I HAVE EVEN SEEN A BOOK  
RECENTLY PRINTED BY A MR. CAPELL FROM NEW JERSEY  
ENTITLED "HENRY KISSINGER - SOVIET AGENT?"  
IS IT FACT OR IS IT FICTION, MR. KISSINGER?

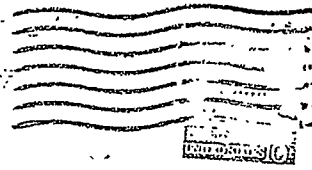
YOURS TRULY,

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DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/TJB

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ENCLOSURE

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1 SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER  
THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON  
D.C.

X RATED  
FOR SAFETY  
JUL 24 1975

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/15/97 BY SP-8 [signature]

ENCLOSURE  
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OFFICE OF  
SECURITY



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# FORD AVOIDED VISIT BY SOLZHENITSYN

Is Reported to Have Felt  
That a Meeting Would Not  
Conform With Detente

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

Special to The New York Times  
WASHINGTON, July 2 — A White House official said today that President Ford had refused to meet with Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn on advice from the National Security Council.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn, who has been critical of the Soviet system in his writings, was deported from his homeland last year, and Mr. Ford was persuaded, according to the White House source, that a meeting with the exiled writer would be inconsistent with the policy of detente.

For several days, the White House has been avoiding saying that Mr. Ford does not want to see the author. The President, reportedly, did not want to embarrass Mr. Solzhenitsyn or offend his admirers. The President turned down an invitation from the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to hear Mr. Solzhenitsyn speak at a dinner in his honor on Monday.

## Two Senators Interceded

Mr. Ford also rejected a request from two conservative Republican Senators, Jesse Helms of North Carolina and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, to meet with the exiled writer, who is visiting the United States.

Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, has treated the President's refusal to see Mr. Solzhenitsyn as inconsequential. But Mr. Ford discussed the matter with his aides for 20 minutes today.

Several of the aides reportedly said that Mr. Ford ought to see the author to placate Americans who admired him. But Mr. Ford, himself, disposed against a meeting, allowed himself to be persuaded against seeing Mr. Solzhenitsyn.

Aside from the detente issue, the aides were said to have raised questions about Mr. Solzhenitsyn's mental stability. They also reportedly suggested that Mr. Solzhenitsyn was in the United States partly to promote the sale of his books and that the President should not be party to such commercial promotions.

## Pelé Promotion Recalled

The White House source that provided this information asked not to be identified and declined to reveal which of the President's advisers had raised these questions.

President Ford has occasionally welcomed people engaged in commercial promotion campaigns. For example, he has been photographed with a cotton queen and, just last week, he met with Pelé, the Brazilian soccer star who recently signed a multi-million dollar contract to play and promote soccer in the United States.

At a news briefing today, Mr. Nessen said, "For image reasons, the President does like to have some substance in his meetings," and added, "It is not clear what he would gain by a meeting with Solzhenitsyn."

Yesterday, Mr. Nessen said, the President could not fit Mr. Solzhenitsyn into his schedule. Mr. Ford did not go to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. dinner, Mr. Nessen said, because he wanted to have a family meal with his daughter Susan, who had just come back to town. Miss Ford is scheduled to be in Washington until next week.

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The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
The Los Angeles Times \_\_\_\_\_

Date 7-3-75

105-177865-A-

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25 DEC 2 1975

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/WB

# Solzhenitsyn Says Ford Joins In Eastern Europe's 'Betrayal'

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 — Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn accused President Ford today of participating in "the betrayal of Eastern Europe" planning to attend the 35-nation European summit meeting next week. As a result the exiled Soviet novelist said, he could see no point in meeting with the President.

In a statement read over the telephone, Mr. Solzhenitsyn continued his campaign aimed at alerting the American people to the dangers he perceives in the policy of Soviet-American détente.

The impetus for Mr. Solzhenitsyn's call was the flurry of statements and press reports about President Ford's efforts to reverse his original decision not to receive Mr. Solzhenitsyn at the White House when the author first arrived in Washington for a speech on June 30. After first snubbing him, the White House said it was holding open an invitation to Mr. Solzhenitsyn.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said that one of the original reasons given by Ron Nessen, the White House spokesman, when Mr. Ford did not see the author was that the President preferred "substantive" meetings to "symbolic" ones.

This provoked Mr. Solzhenitsyn's response, indicating his displeasure with a document that is scheduled to be signed in Helsinki, Finland, to

mark the end of the European security conference, and with Mr. Ford's participation in the summit meeting.

In the telephone conversation from the home of Aleksandra Tolstoy, the one living daughter of Leo Tolstoy, in Rockland County, N.Y., Mr. Solzhenitsyn chatted in Russian about his statement, and then an English translation of it was read over the phone by an official of the Tolstoy Foundation. It said:

"Since I left Washington for the second time, there have

been many reports in the press concerning the White House change of intention and now the desire to see me.

"Among the somewhat contradictory explanations as to why this meeting did not take place earlier, it was stated that President Ford would prefer only meetings that were 'substantive' rather than 'symbolic.' I entirely share this point of view.

"Nobody needs symbolic meetings. The president will shortly be leaving for Europe to sign (incidentally together with the leaders of Western European states) The betrayal of Eastern Europe, to acknowledge officially its slavery forever.

"Had I the hope of dissuading him from signing this treaty, I myself would seek such a meeting. However,

there is no such hope. If the President considers the 30-year raging of worldwide totalitarianism as an example of an 'era of peace' what will the basis be for a conversation?"

Mr. Solzhenitsyn was concerned that the signing of the European document would lend permanence to the post-war division of Europe into Communist and non-Communist nations.

Critics of the conference have said that document's mention of the "inviolability of frontiers" has doomed the people of Eastern Europe to Communist rule, but supporters have said it merely reflects the reality of postwar Europe.

The White House, which had no immediate comment on Mr. Solzhenitsyn's statement, announced today that Mr. Ford would visit Poland, Rumania

and Yugoslavia in connection with the Helsinki trip.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said in the conversation, undertaken at his initiative, that the White House was wrong in saying that he had held out for a written invitation to see Mr. Ford. What was important, he said, was the substance of the conversation.

## The Author's Version

He said he had not asked to see Mr. Ford.

What had happened, he said, was that before his June 30 speech at an A.F.L.-C.I.O. banquet in his honor in Washington, George Meany, the organization's president, had invited Mr. Ford to the dinner, but the President had declined in order to dine with his daughter Susan.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn said the effort by conservative Senators to arrange the meeting with

Mr. Ford was taken at their initiative, not his.

The President had refused to receive him at first on the advice of Secretary of State Kissinger and others who feared the "symbolic" effect it might have on détente. This led to criticism and a change in the White House position.

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BOROVICK (LAST)

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Date 7-22-75

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Asst. Dir.:

## OLD MENSHEVIK LEADER CHARGES DISTORTIONS

**Solzhenitsyn's Deeds Sadden and Pain Me**

BY MIKHAIL YAKUBOVICH

In "The Gulag Archipelago," Alexander Solzhenitsyn devoted almost eight pages (not counting a number of rather verbose footnotes) to this humble author. That, I feel, gives me a decided right to add, a kind of postscript—in my mind, a necessary one—to this book, which is so widely acclaimed in the West.

In the second volume of "Gulag," Solzhenitsyn tells us that, soon after his trial, he was recruited by security personnel at the prison camp to work as a secret informer under the assumed name of "Vetrov." Since I, too, was imprisoned for 24 years, and emerged well versed in the prison life of the time, I was literally flabbergasted by such a disclosure. If it had not been made by Solzhenitsyn himself, I would not have believed it. How could he, a man who laid claim to the role of prophet, have been part of the secret police—the very GPU, which he reviled in his "Gulag." (The GPU was the predecessor of the KGB.)

But Solzhenitsyn continues: "Yes, I signed to the effect that I ~~was~~ and let myself be christened 'Vetrov,' but in reality I managed not to inform upon anybody." Now, this contention is absolutely incredible.

In the light of this sensational and sudden revelation, certain facts from Solzhenitsyn's literary and political biography should, perhaps, be reconsidered. For instance, how did he come to be transferred from the ordinary prison camp in which he became a secret informer, to a special privileged camp, the "Sharashka," where secret scientific researchers were kept? (Indeed, this was the very camp to which he devoted his novel, "The First Circle.")

There is only one answer to that question: He gained entrance into the privileged camp through his activities as a secret informer. Therefore, Solzhenitsyn's assurances that the police good-naturedly put up with the fact that "Vetrov" gave them no information and,

then, sent him to work in a special camp, are pure nonsense.

But another question arises: Why did he make this confession which may damage his reputation?

The explanation, it seems to me, is psycho-

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
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 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Los Angeles Times **PPH P7**

Date JUN 25 1975

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logical—but simple. Enjoying his fame in the West as a fearless fighter of "barbarian communism," Solzhenitsyn may be sitting on his bag of gold; but, nevertheless, he knows no peace.

He is undoubtedly terrified of retribution. Afraid of being called to account for his deeds by those upon whom he informed, he is also fearful that the State Security Committee (KGB) may someday expose him. What a blow either would be to the moral reputation of the "prophet."

Thus, we come to the reasoning behind Solzhenitsyn's own self-exposure: "Yes," Solzhenitsyn would say, "I was a secret informer. I was christened 'Vetrov,' but I really informed on no one. I managed to avoid fulfilling the commitments I had taken upon myself, and this confession of mine is proof of that." In other words, his books are as much attempts to convince and exonerate himself as to convince the world.

In "The Gulag Archipelago," Solzhenitsyn's hatred of socialism and the revolution develops with fiendish pleasure. In evaluating my own tragic role in the Soviet Union's history, I feel great pain and regret. But I cannot find in my heart any kindred response to the malicious delight that permeates Solzhenitsyn's memories.

In reporting conversations I once had with him about my activities in the revolution and, later, at the Menshevik Union Bureau trial, he scoffingly distorted their true essence and character. In his egocentric way, he used people as colors on the canvases of his books.

Solzhenitsyn longs for religious orthodoxy, autocracy and nationalism—a triad put forth by Count Urañov during the rule of Czar Nicholas I—for both himself and Russia. Yet his reverence for the three is only insofar as he can wield them at his own discretion.

Solzhenitsyn's deeds give me no pleasure; they sadden and pain me. He has placed himself on a pedestal, but it is one made of straw.

Earlier this year the Soviet government launched a new campaign to discredit Nobel Prize-winning author Alexander Solzhenitsyn and his monumental account of the Soviet prison system, "The Gulag Archipelago." It is against this background that the accompanying article, submitted to The Times through the Soviet embassy in Washington, should be read.

Its author, Mikhail Petrovich Yakubovich, was an important leader of the Menshevik Party during the 1917 Russian revolution. Subsequently, he held governmental posts in the areas of finance and international trade. In 1930, Yakubovich was convicted of "economic sabotage" during the Menshevik Union Trials. An account of the 24 years he subsequently spent in Soviet prison camps plays an important part in Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag."

While Yakubovich, now 84 and living in a government rest home in Kazakhstan, today claims that Solzhenitsyn's portrayal of his life is distorted, there is some evidence that he did not always believe so.

In a March 21 letter to The Times, Nadezhda Markova Ulanovskaya, in whose Moscow apartment Solzhenitsyn and historian Roy Medvedev once interviewed Yakubovich, had this to say: "Yakubovich has never stated either in his correspondence or in his conversations with friends that Solzhenitsyn distorted his story. He emphatically maintained in conversations with myself and our friends that the facts in 'Gulag Archipelago' about him were all correct. He only disagreed with the interpretation provided."

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. J. P. Lee

CODE

TELETYPE

NITEL

TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (105-39739)

MAY 28, 1976

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (105-177865) — 16

REC 44

EX-101

~~SECRET~~

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN; IS - R.

REURTEL MAY 24, 1976.

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1, 6)  
DATE 12-04-2008

A REVIEW OF BUREAU FILES FAILS TO REVEAL ANY INFORMATION  
INDICATING THAT THE KGB (COMMITTEE FOR STATE SECURITY) HAS  
PLANNED ANY ACTION AGAINST THE SUBJECT WHILE HE IS IN THE  
UNITED STATES

map

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SEE NOTE, PAGE TWO

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAY 28 1976

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

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105-177865 FDPS pg. 119

GPO : 1975 O-568-820

PAGE TWO

~~SECRET~~

105-177865

Referral/Direct

THE ABOVE IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 3676, XGDS 2 AND 3, INDEFINITE.~~

END

NOTE:

Subject is a Soviet writer who left the Soviet Union in January, 1974. He is currently conducting research for a new book at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, which is located on the campus of Stanford University. His host approached the head of the Stanford police services and requested a gun permit for the subject, who feels that he is in danger. The permit was refused because the subject is not an American citizen. San Francisco requested to be advised if the Bureau had any information that the KGB plans action against the subject while he is in the United States. This responds to San Francisco's request.

~~SECRET~~

105-177865-16 FDPS pg. 120

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SF 003

NR 005 SF CODE

3:40 PM NITEL 5/24/76 PXC

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (105-39739) (C)

MAY 24 1976

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTENTION: INTD.

ALEKSANDR SOLZHNITSSEN, IS - R.

ON MAY 24, 1976, [REDACTED] STANFORD UNIVERSITY (SU), POLICE SERVICES, ADVISED THAT ALEKSANDR SOLZHNITSSEN, THE DISSIDENT SOVIET AUTHOR WHO WAS RECENTLY DEPORTED FROM THE USSR, IS CURRENTLY CONDUCTING RESEARCH FOR A NEW BOOK HE IS WRITING AT THE HOOVER INSTITUTION ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE (HI) LOCATED ON THE SU CAMPUS. HIS HOST IS [REDACTED] OF HI.

[REDACTED] APPROACHED [REDACTED] THIS DATE AND REQUESTED THAT [REDACTED] ISSUE A GUN PERMIT TO SOLZHNITSSEN. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] SOLZHNITSSEN SAID HE FEELS HE IS IN EMINENT DANGER. SOLZHNITSSEN TOLD [REDACTED] "SOME VERY DISTURBING EVENTS HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN SWITZERLAND," AND THIS CAUSES SOLZHNITSSEN TO FEAR FOR HIS LIFE.

[REDACTED] REMINDED [REDACTED] THAT SOLZHNITSSEN IS AN ALIEN AND THEREFORE IS NOT ELIGIBLE FOR A GUN PERMIT. [REDACTED] THEN ASKED

REC 74

EX-101

105-177865-16  
20 JUN 1 1976

DECLASSIFIED BY SP2 ALM/jwb  
ON 9/18/97

INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

*[Handwritten signature]*

Tel to SF 5/28/76

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PAGE TWO SF 105-39739

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IF HE COULD LOAN SOLZHNITSEN HIS PERSONAL .45 AUTOMATIC. [ ] STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT HE NOT. [ ] SAID SOLZHNITSEN IS RESIDING ON CAMPUS BUT WOULD NOT SAY WHERE. [ ] SAID SOLZHNITSEN IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT A DINNER AT THE HOLIDAY INN OF PALO ALTO ON THE EVENING OF MAY 24, 1976. APPROXIMATELY 250 PEOPLE WILL ATTEND. [ ] SAID SECURITY PRECAUTIONS ARE BEING TAKEN TO PROTECT SOLZHNITSEN.

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[ ] INQUIRED IF THE FBI HAD ANY INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION TO INDICATE THAT THE SOVIETS WERE PLANNING TO TAKE ACTION AGAINST SOLZHNITSEN, EITHER HARASSMENT OR POSSIBLE PHYSICAL VIOLENCE. HE WAS ADVISED THAT THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE OF THE FBI KNEW OF NO SUCH PLANS BY THE SOVIETS BUT THAT THE FBI WOULD MAINTAIN LIAISON WITH HIS DEPARTMENT.

ON MAY 24, [ ] HI, WAS INTERVIEWED AND ADVISED THAT TO HIS KNOWLEDGE SOLZHNITSEN IS NOT AN OFFICIAL GUEST OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. HE IS AT HI AS A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL, USING THE ARCHIVES. [ ] SAID HE DOES NOT KNOW WHERE SOLZHNITSEN IS RESIDING. HE ALSO DOES NOT KNOW WHAT HAPPENED IN SWITZERLAND BUT TO HIS KNOWLEDGE



PAGE THREE SF 105-39739

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THERE WAS NO VIOLENCE OR THREATS OF VIOLENCE MADE AGAINST SOLZHNITSEN OR HIS FAMILY. [ ] SPECULATED THAT SOLZHNITSEN WAS UPSET ABOUT A COPY OF A LETTER THAT HAD SURFACED IN SWITZERLAND BY A NEWS CORRESPONDENT. IN THIS LETTER, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ACCUSED SOLZHNITSEN OF COLLABORATING WITH THE KGB WHILE HE WAS CONFINED IN A PRISON CAMP MANY YEARS AGO.

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Referral/Direct

THE BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO ADVISE THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE IF IT HAS ANY INFORMATION THAT THE KGB PLANS ANY ACTION AGAINST SOLZHNITSEN WHILE HE IS IN THE USA.

~~CLASSIFIED BY 5478, XGDS 2 & 3, INDEFINITE~~

END.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-177865)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (105-37939) (C)

SUBJECT: ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN;  


Nonofficial Soviet Visitors  
to the U.S.

IS-R

00: San Francisco

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC  
DECLASSIFICATION  
AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)  
DATE 12-04-2008

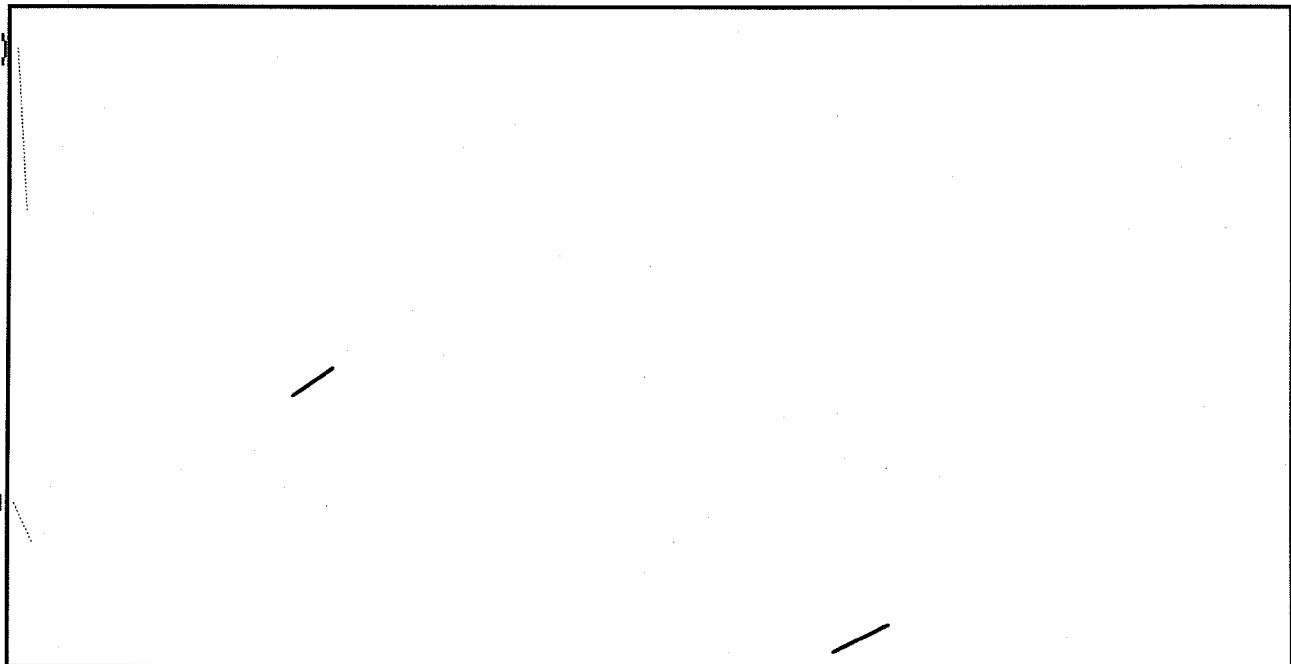
DATE: 6/24/76

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REASON: (C)  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Re Bureau 0-7, dated 3/9/76, captioned as above.



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In view of the above, no further investigative  
activity is recommended and this matter is being considered  
closed.

SI-100

REC-45

105-177865-17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Classified By 5478 JUN 28 1976  
Exempt from GDS, Categories 2 & 3  
Date of Declassification INDEFINITE

1-4220

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2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (105-37939)

WFM:adv



JUL 8 1976  
399

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/24/76

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (105-New) (C)

ALEKSANDR I. SOLZHENITSYN

SUBJECT: ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN  
TENTATIVE TRAVEL TO  
NORWICH, VERMONT  
SUMMER OF 1976  
IS - R

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and five copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above, and suitable for dissemination. Also, enclosed for the New York Office are two copies of the same LHM.

The aforementioned LHM is being furnished to the Bureau and New York for information in the event that SOLZHENITSYN effects his proposed travel to Norwich, Vermont and in view of his relationship with [redacted] residing [redacted] It appears from the tenor of the information furnished by [redacted] that SOLZHENITSYN prefers not to deal with the U. S. State Department and will make travel plans through associates and emigrate groups in his country. Consequently, dissemination of this LHM is being left to the discretion of the Bureau.

No further investigation is considered warranted by Albany.

- 2-Bureau (Encs. 6) (RM)
  - 2-New York (INFO) (Encs. 2) (RM)
  - 1-Albany
- JJR:saj  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 9/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/wb



5010-110

JUL 19 1976 U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Albany, New York

June 24, 1976

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

On June 15, 1976, [redacted] telephonically contacted the Montpelier Resident Agency of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and advised that [redacted] of ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN and has contacted the FBI in the past concerning SOLZHENITSYN's travels while in the United States. [redacted] was calling the Montpelier Resident Agency concerning any security problems which SOLZHENITSYN might experience in the Norwich, Vermont area, which SOLZHENITSYN has contemplated visiting during the summer of 1976. [redacted] explained that he had received a long distance telephone call from SOLZHENITSYN in which SOLZHENITSYN had indicated that he might accept a speaking engagement at an unknown college in the Norwich, Vermont area. SOLZHENITSYN was apparently referring to Norwich University in the Northfield, Vermont area.

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No information at this time was furnished to [redacted] and he was advised that he would be recontacted in the future concerning this matter.

Files of the Albany Office of the FBI failed to reveal any information which appeared to be identical with [redacted]

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On June 16, 1976, [redacted] was telephonically contacted by the Albany Office [redacted], at which time he furnished the following additional information:

b2

[redacted] He advised that he initially met SOLZHENITSYN when SOLZHENITSYN was in New York and visited the St. Vladimir Orthodox Seminary. Since that time, [redacted] SOLZHENITSYN on speaking engagements throughout the United States. VINOGRADOV stated that he received a telephone call from SOLZHENITSYN asking [redacted] to call the local FBI Office that covers the Norwich, Vermont area in that he was considering accepting a speaking engagement at an undisclosed college in that area during

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DATE 7/18/97 BY SP2 ALM/jwb

This document contains neither  
recommendations nor conclusions of  
the FBI. It is the property of  
the FBI and is loaned to your agency;  
it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

105-177865-1

RE: ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

the summer of 1976 and wished [ ] to determine if there were any security problems in that area which would preclude his presence there. [ ] was advised that there were no known security problems in that area, but this did not negate such problems arising during SOLZHENITSYN's travel there. It was suggested to [ ] that SOLZHENITSYN should properly refer this matter to the U. S. State Department. [ ] expressed a reluctance to do so, and indicated through innuendo, that it was SOLZHENITSYN's preference not to deal with the U. S. State Department or through any other official channel.

[ ] was advised of the jurisdictions of the FBI and it was emphasized that the FBI is not a protection agency. [ ] stated that he understood this and would convey this to SOLZHENITSYN. He further indicated that he would suggest to SOLZHENITSYN that he should in the future, refer travel plans through the U. S. Department of State.

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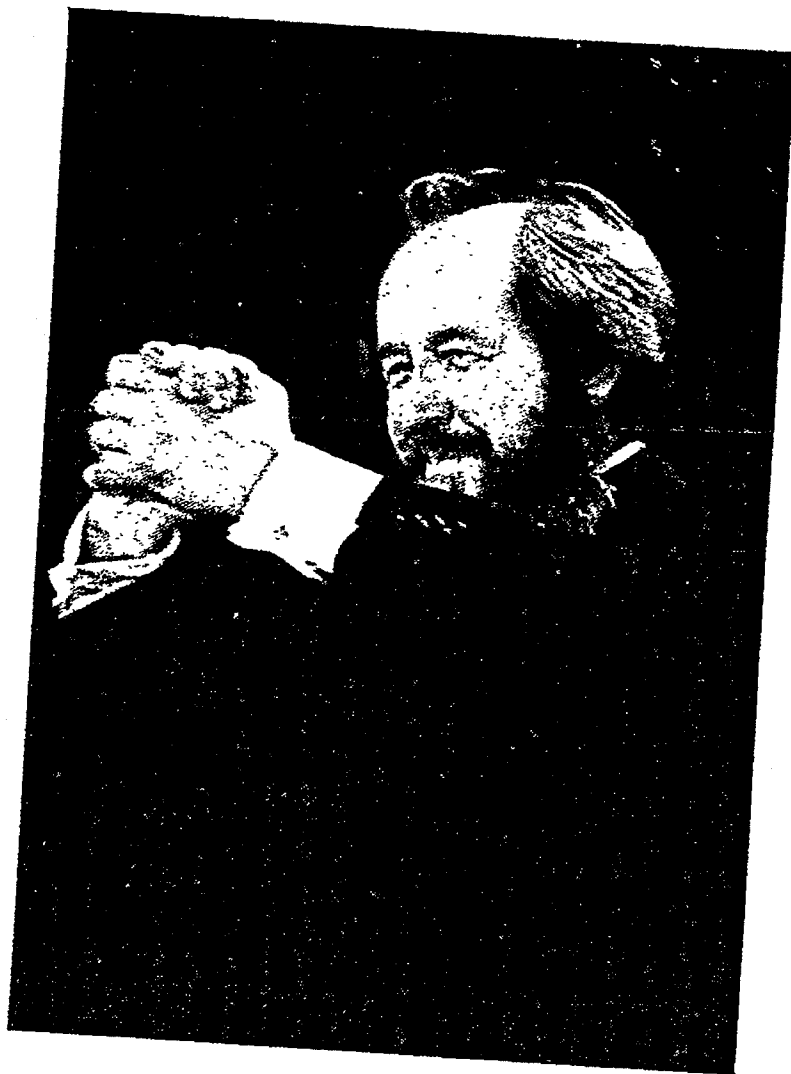
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# To Free China

By Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

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An Address Delivered in Taipei

Republic of China

October 23, 1982

(Translated from the Russian)

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# To Free China

By Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

For 33 years, Taiwan, I believe, has attracted, by its specific fate, the attention of many people throughout the world. I myself felt that way long ago. Three score countries have already fallen under the yoke of Communism. Scarcely one of them has been fortunate enough to retain even a tiny patch of its independent national territory, where its state authority could continue to develop despite the disruption, and through comparison show the world the difference between itself and Communist disorganization. In Russia, such a patch of land could have been Wrangel's Crimea. But lacking any external support and abandoned by its unfaithful former allies, it was soon crushed by the Communists. But in China, thanks to a wide Strait, a fragment of the former state became the Republic of China on Taiwan, which, for a third of a century, has proved to the world what heights of development could have been reached if the whole of China had not fallen under the yoke of Communism. Today, the Republic of China on Taiwan differs from the other in its development, its industrial achievements and the well-being of its population, thereby proving how logically the forces of a nation can be guided, if they are not in inimical hands.

It would seem that the population of our planet should clearly perceive such an instructive comparison and should have its eyes opened to



see how peoples who escape Communism flourish and how those who fall victim to Communist tenets perish by the millions. The history of Communist destructions in the Soviet Union, Poland and Cambodia are now known to all. The history of the millions destroyed in China, Vietnam or North Korea is yet to be revealed in detail, but many signs allow us to judge this history even now.

But NO! It is Free China which has had to endure and suffer from the greatest injustices and ignoble attitudes of other countries. The United Nations, long degraded to an irresponsible side show, disgraced itself by expelling from membership the 17 millions of Free China. The majority of countries on our planet treacherously expelled your country from the U.N., whose delegates, adding insult to injury, whistled, jeered and shouted. The majority of Third World countries behaved like madmen who don't know the price of freedom but are themselves waiting for the kick of the boot.

For centuries the Western World has known very well the price of freedom. But with years passing and well-being achieved, it is less and less prepared to pay for it. The Western people value their state systems but are less and less inclined to defend them with their own bodies. From decade to decade, the West has become increasingly senile and unable to defend itself. The betrayal of one country after another had already begun before the Second World War. Afterward, no scruples were felt in abrogating the whole of Eastern Europe just for the sake of the West's own well-being. How easy it was to betray the government of Mikolaychik; how easy it was to withdraw support from one's ally, Chiang Kai-shek. And soon we shall witness how one country will betray another for the price of surviving just a little longer. Should it be surprising that the majority of the frightened Western countries are even afraid to sell you weapons for fear of angering Peking. That's how much their drive and con-

cern for freedom is worth. Meanwhile, threatened Europe should understand your position better but is so cowardly that it fails to recognize that the Republic of China and other countries of Asia are themselves endangered. Just recently, the former premier of Japan declared that the arming of Free China would destabilize the Far East! What more can be said?

They are all obsessed with the search for self-protection and the quest for a stand-in. So there emerged an attractive myth—that there are “bad” and “good” Communisms. And out of such a myth grew the image of Communist China as a good-natured peacemaker! But should that be surprising—when in South Korea, which herself survived a Communist assault, there exists a myth that actually the Soviet Union is not directly hostile to them, not so much an enemy, not like North Korea. The South Koreans have also been doing their utmost to curry favor with Peking. Now they are hesitating about whether to give a defecting Red Chinese aircraft to Free China.

No, it is not out of shortsightedness, not out of stupidity, that such myths are believed, but out of despair, out of the loss of spirit.

In a particular relationship to you is the United States of America. Up to this day, the United States provides the only outside guaranty restraining the Communists from attacking your island. But how difficult it becomes for the United States to remain faithful to Taiwan; how much has already been lost on the way! The Americans have also succumbed to the general world trend to leave the Republic of China to its perils, to abandon it to its fate. America moved to abrogate its diplomatic relations with the R.O.C. For what? For what fault of hers? Only to follow the futile Western dream of gaining an ally in Communist China. America has restricted its connections with you, curtailed its military support and is denying you much of what you need.

What pressures have been exerted upon American presidents, urging surrender of Taiwan! Not all of them could bear the strain. Here we have a former president, just back from a visit to China, where he flattered his hosts by saying that "a strong Communist China is a guarantee for peace" and that America seems to be interested in a strong Red China. Such people in former years have governed the United States and there is no guarantee that another such person might not succeed President Reagan.

The United States is highly heterogeneous. There are many currents, of which the capitulatory tides are quite powerful. Extremely powerful circles are leaning toward betrayal of a free country in favor of a friendship with a totalitarian one. They gladly picked up the hypocritical offer from Communist China on "peaceful unification." Many American journalists cry from the rooftops that Peking is now "bound by promises" to effect unification peacefully. They wanted to forget, and therefore successfully forgot, how many times the Communists have already cheated. The experience of "governments in concert with Communists" in postwar Eastern Europe has taught no lesson. This hopeless experiment now is being conducted in Cambodia. Similarly, according to Kissinger's agreement, North Vietnam was "bound by a ceasefire"—until it set the day for the seizure of South Vietnam. And leading American newsmen reached such heights of stupidity as to write that the United States doesn't make mistakes. If Red China "breaks its promise" and seizes Taiwan by force—then—only then—America would be freed from obligations and could again start to deliver arms...to whom, then?...Yes, such delirium appears on the pages of leading American newspapers, and they don't realize what they are doing!

And thus the influential circles in the United States want to force Taiwan to accept capitulatory negotiations, to relinquish voluntarily its freedom and power.

What, then, does Communist China want from you? Certainly, it is eager to grab your blossoming economy, to plunder and devour it. After all that has happened in the 20th century, only shortsighted simpletons can trust Peking's promises that it will totally preserve your economic and social system, and even your armed forces along with some elements of freedom. But the main issue is not to take away your wealth, to steal the fruits of your hard work. The main thing is that the Communist system does not tolerate any deviation in anything or anywhere. Not even the wealth of your island is important. What matters is the deviation from their system. Communist China hates you for your economic and social superiority. For them it is not permissible that other Chinese should know that there can be a better life without Communism. The Communist ideology does not tolerate any islets of freedom. And so, with all their might, the Communists want to cut off the sale to you even of defensive arms, to try to weaken your defense capability, to disturb your balance of power in the Straits—and thus to bring closer the day of intrusion into your island.

In order to nurture the apathy of the United States, Red China plays speculatively on the negotiations between Peking and Moscow on matters of China-Soviet rapprochement. Such rapprochement is not make-believe. It is a very realistic perspective. Both governments have long had common roots, a fact which everybody seems to forget. As far back as 1923, a Soviet agent Grusemberg, alias "Borodin," prepared a Communist coup, and it was he who promoted Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai to the highest positions in the party.

All that I am telling you—because of the deadly danger in which you find yourself—is understood well by many, if not yet by all. The threat is understood better here than in South Korea, where the young generation, the students, have quite forgotten the brief horrors of

Communist intrusion, so that the present freedom seems to them not enough. But they will remember and revalue their present "nonfreedom" when, after a command "hands back," they are driven under armed guards into concentration camps.

It seems to be fashionable in the West to demand from all who stand in the forefront of defense, under machine-gun fire, to demand the widest democracy, and not just simple, but absolute democracy, bordering on total dissoluteness, on state treason, on the right to destroy their own state and country—such freedom as Western countries tolerate. Such is the price the West demands from each menaced country, including yours. But it seems that on your island the logical limits are known and will sustain your struggle.

There is another danger stalking you. Your economic successes, your living standards and well-being are of a two-fold nature. These are the bright hope of all the Chinese people. But they also can become your weakness. All prosperous people tend to lose the awareness of danger, an addiction of the good living conditions of today, and consequently lose their will for resistance. I hope and I urge you to avoid such a weakening. Don't permit the youth of your country to become soft and placid, to become slaves to material goods, until finally they will prefer captivity and slavery to the struggle for freedom. That for 33 years you lived peacefully does not mean that you might not be attacked in the following three years. You are not a serene, care-free island; you are an army, constantly under the menace of war.

You are 18 millions, about as many as there are Jews in the world, and your problem is of the same dimensions. But the Jewish problem attracts the attention of all states and has become one of the central problems of contemporary times. Comparing this with the uniqueness of your position, I don't perceive why the fate of

Taiwan should not command the equal attention of the world.

But in today's world betrayal from weakness reigns supreme, and it is only your own strength upon which you can really rely. But there is also one bigger and brighter hope: the peoples of the enslaved nations, who will not endure indefinitely but who will rise in one menacing hour—menacing to their Communist rulers.

In your books you write that your island is a "bastion of national recovery." So be it! Not only defense, not only self-preservation should be your goal—but help, but the liberation of your compatriots suffering on the mainland, and first of all, through free and courageous radio broadcasts.

It may seem, since no one comes to mind, that you have no firm, reliable allies, although they might appear in the hour of destruction. But you have the most formidable ally in the world: one billion Chinese people. Their sympathy is your moral and spiritual support. Just a few days ago, you had an encouraging signal from your compatriots through the act of defection of a Red Chinese air force pilot. Often I think of still anonymous prisoners of the Chinese Gulags whose true story might not be told until the 21st century.

All the oppressed people, including the peoples of the Soviet Union, cannot rely on outside help, only on their own strength. At the best, the whole world would watch indifferently, but possibly with a great deal of relief, if the mad rulers of China and the USSR should unleash war among them. I hope that won't happen. But in any case, let us testify here and now to the mutual amicability and trust between the Chinese and Russian peoples, to the absence of contradictions amongst them; even more, let us hope for a union of our long suffering compatriots against both Communist governments. Whatever might happen be-

tween these two self-interested, anti-national governments, let us preserve mutual understanding, mutual compassion and friendship; let's not allow them to blind our eyes and deaden our ears through fruitless national hatred.

We don't know how long the plague of Communism will affect our world. One hundred and thirty-five years ago, who would have told the leaders of the then great empires that the tiny group of utopians—Communists who organized themselves in Europe—would conquer them all with iron and blood, and force to their knees their might and pride? They would not even have smiled at such a prophecy. Such forces could not then be seen anywhere. The strength of the Communists was based on their drive and their cruelty; the weakness of the West was rooted in the absence of the will to fight.

We don't know what whimsical zigzags human history will follow. I have already expressed a supposition that world Communism will outlive both Soviet and Chinese Communist regimes and spread over other countries, many of which are still eager to experience Communism. But in our two countries national commonsense shall finally prevail!

Anyway, both our peoples have suffered too much, lost too much! They are already moving along the way of liberation and recovery! □

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*ALEKSANDR Solzhenitsyn*

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